



THE CODRUS PAINTER

ICONOGRAPHY AND RECEPTION OF
ATHENIAN VASES IN THE AGE OF PERICLES



AMALIA AVRAMIDOU

VISIT...

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THE CODRUS PAINTER

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in the Age of Pericles*

Amalia Avramidou

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CONTENTS

<i>List of Illustrations</i>	vii	
<i>Preface</i>	xi	
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xiii	
1 Introduction	3	
1.1 History of Research	3	
1.2 Dating the Work of the Codrus Painter	5	
2 Defining the Style of the Codrus Painter	7	
2.1 Details of the Drawing	7	
2.2 The Style of Painters Near the Codrus Painter	10	
2.3 Recurrent Motifs and Figure-Types	13	
2.4 Palmettes	14	
2.5 Tondo Bands	16	
3 Reconsidering Some Attributions	17	
3.1 The Oxford Chous	17	
3.2 The Dresden Cup	18	
3.3 The Cape Town Cup	18	
3.4 The Cambridge Athletes Cup	19	
3.5 The Timandra Fragments	20	
3.6 The Cup Once in the Basel Market	20	
4 Shapes, Style, and Chronology	22	
4.1 Shapes	22	
4.2 Stylistic and Chronological Arrangement of the Vases	23	
4.3 The Circle of the Codrus Painter	25	
4.4 Manner of the Codrus Painter	25	
4.5 Compare to the Codrus Painter and Aison	26	
4.6 Near the Codrus Painter	26	
4.7 The Painter of Cambridge 72	26	
5 The Codrus Painter and His Contemporaries	28	
5.1 The Codrus Painter and the Eretria Painter	28	
5.2 The Codrus Painter, Aison, and the Meidias Painter	29	
5.3 The Codrus Painter and the Group of Polygnotos	30	
5.4 Conclusion	30	
6 Mythological Subjects	31	
6.1 Heroic Kings and Royal Heroes: The Codrus Cup	31	
6.2 From the Attic Land: The Erichthonios Cup	33	
6.3 The Attic Hero: The Theseus Cup	36	
6.4 Consulting the Oracle: The Themis Cup	39	
6.5 A Theban Myth as a Platform for Athenian Ideals: The Basel Cup	40	
7 Divine Assemblies	43	
7.1 The Divine Banquet Cup	43	
7.2 Local Deities: The Brauron Cup	46	
8 Other Mythological Subjects	47	
8.1 The Triton Cup	47	
8.2 The Phrixos Cup	48	
8.3 The Cassandra Cup	49	
8.4 The Astarita Cup	49	
8.5 The Amazomachy Cup	50	
9 Dionysiac Subjects	52	
9.1 Representations of Thiasoi	52	
9.2 Dramatic Performances	53	
9.3 The Herakles Cup	54	

9.4	The Cambridge Cup	55	
9.5	The Oxford Chous	56	
10	Departure Scenes and Hoplite Representations	57	
10.1	The Zurich Cup	58	
10.2	The Naples Cup	58	
10.3	The Ex-Charterhouse Cup	58	
10.4	The Battlefield Cup	59	
11	Depictions of Youths and Athletes	61	
11.1	Sport in Athens and Etruria	61	
11.2	Athletic Scenes by the Codrus Painter and His Circle	61	
11.3	Victors and Athletes after Training	62	
11.4	Javelin Throwing, Jumping, and Combat Sports	63	
11.5	Torch Races and Musical Contests	64	
11.6	Generic Athletic Scenes	64	
11.7	The Seesaw Cup	65	
12	The Codrus Painter and the Etruscan Market	66	
12.1	Attic Vases and the Etruscan Banquet	67	
12.2	The Polysemic Value of Attic Vase Paintings: An Etruscan Reading of the Codrus Painter's Cups	68	
13	Late Fifth-Century Attic Sculpture and the Codrus Painter	71	
13.1	Architectural Sculpture and Temple Decoration	72	
13.2	Cult Statue Bases	76	
13.3	Dedicatory and Funerary Relief Bases	78	
13.4	Other Reliefs: Funerary and Votive	78	
13.5	Conclusion	81	
14	Overview of the Work of the Codrus Painter	83	
	<i>Appendix: Kalos Names and Other Inscriptions</i>	85	
	<i>Catalogue</i>	87	
	<i>Plates</i>	97	
	<i>Notes</i>	191	
	<i>Bibliography</i>	217	
	<i>Index</i>	229	

ILLUSTRATIONS

FIGURES

2.1	Profiles: the Basel Athletes cup, the Apodyterion cup, the Erichthonios cup	7
2.2	Ears: the Herakles cup, the Tarquinia cup	8
2.3	Hair and headgear for young men: the New York cup, the Apodyterion cup, the Codrus cup	8
2.4	Hair and headgear for adult men: the Divine Banquet cup, the Astarita cup	8
2.5	Women's hair and headgear: the Tarquinia cup, the Codrus cup, the Divine Banquet cup, the Erichthonios cup	9
2.6	Fingers and hands: the Divine Banquet cup, the Erichthonios cup, the Basel Athletes cup, the Herakles cup	9
2.7	Knees: the Basel Athletes cup, the Erichthonios cup, the Herakles cup	10
2.8	Male torsos: the Basel Athletes cup, the New York cup, the Apodyterion cup, the Erichthonios cup, the Tarquinia cup	10
2.9	Male clothing: the Erichthonios cup	10
2.10	Female clothing: the Codrus cup, the Erichthonios cup, the Brauron cup, the Triton cup, the Louvre Nike cup	11
2.11	Circle of the Codrus Painter, faces: the Amazonomachy cup, the Ex-Charterhouse cup, the Geneva Athletes cup, the Cambridge Athletes cup, the Hermitage Torch Race cup, the Berlin cup	12
2.12	Circle of the Codrus Painter, necks and abdomens: the Ex-Charterhouse cup, the Battlefield cup, the Berlin cup, the Hermitage Torch Race cup	12
2.13	Circle of the Codrus Painter, torsos: the Cambridge Athletes cup, the Dresden cup, the Geneva Athletes cup, the Richmond cup	13
2.14	Circle of the Codrus Painter, spines and buttocks: the Cambridge Athletes cup, the Chapel Hill cup, the Dresden cup, the Geneva Athletes cup	13
2.15	Palmette: type I	15
2.16	Palmette: type II	15
2.17	Palmette: type III	15
2.18	Palmette: type IIIa	15
2.19	Palmette: type IIIb	15
2.20	Palmette: type IIIc	15
2.21	Palmette: type IVa	16
3.1	The Oxford chous	18
3.2	Satyrs: details of the Oxford chous, the Herakles cup, the Cambridge cup	18
3.3	The Dresden cup	19

3.4	The Cape Town cup	19
3.5	Details of the Cambridge Athletes cup	20
3.6	The Timandra fragments	20
3.7	The cup once in the Basel Market	21

TABLES

2.1	Tondo bands on cups by the Codrus Painter and his Circle: statistical data	16
3.1	New attributions to and disassociations from the corpus of the Codrus Painter	21
12.1	Vases by the Codrus Painter and his Circle: findspots by region and site	67
13.1	Vases by the Codrus Painter and his Circle in relation to contemporary sculptures	72

PLATES

1a–c	The Codrus cup	99
2a–b	Cup by the Painter of the Naples Hydriskai	101
3a–c	The Erichthonios cup	102
4	The Acropolis fragment	103
5a–b	The Theseus cycle cup	104
6	The Harrow cycle cup	105
7a–c	Aison's cycle cup	106
8a–c	The Themis cup	108
9a–c	The Basel cup	110
10a–c	The Divine Banquet cup	112
11a–b	The Brauron cup	114
12	Fragment in Florence	114
13	Fragment from Enserune	114
14a–c	The Triton cup	115
15a–c	The Phrixos cup	117
16a–c	The Cassandra cup	118
17	The Astarita cup	120
18	The Tampa fragment	120
19a–b	The Amazonomachy cup	121
20	The Tarquinia cup	121
21a–c	The Dionysos cup	122
22a–c	The Herakles cup	124
23a–c	The Cambridge cup	126
24	The New York fragment	128
25	The Tübingen fragment	128
26a–b	The Montereoggi fragments	129
27a–c	The Altenburg cup	130
28a–b	The Zurich cup	132
29a–c	The Naples cup	134
30a–c	The ex-Charterhouse cup	136
31a–c	The Battlefield cup	138
32a–b	The Louvre Nike cup	140
33a–b	The Ampurias Nike cup	142
34	The Apodyterion cup	144
35	Populonia fragment in Florence	144
36a–c	Cup in Florence	145
37	The Florence Athletes fragment	146
38a–b	The Ampurias Athletes fragment	146
39	Fragment in Copenhagen	146
40a–b	The Basel Athletes cup	147
41a–b	The Castelvenere cup	147

42	The Münster fragment	148
43a–c	The Berlin cup	148
44a–b	The Florence cup	150
45a–c	The Cambridge Athletes cup	150
46a–c	The Copenhagen cup	152
47	The Xenon cup	154
48a–b	The British Museum Athletes cup	155
49	The Villa Giulia cup	156
50	The Brussels cup	157
51	The Ampurias fragment	157
52a–c	The Todi cup	158
53a–c	The Chapel Hill cup	160
54a–c	The Richmond cup	162
55a–b	The Hermitage Torch Race cup	164
56a–b	The Geneva Athletes cup	165
57a–c	The Ferrara Athletes cup	166
58a–b	The Louvre Athletes cup	168
59	The Ny Carlsberg cup	168
60a–b	The Cumae cup	169
61a–c	The Ceglie cup	170
62	The Duke cup	171
63a–b	The Enserune cup	171
64	The Bremen cup	172
65	The Leipzig cup	172
66	The Corchiano cup	173
67	The Enserune palmette	174
68	The Ampurias tondo fragment	174
69	The Ferrara cup	174
70	The Reggio fragment	175
71	The Würzburg fragment	175
72	The Seesaw cup	175
73a–c	Namepiece of the Painter of Cambridge 72	176
74	Stemmed plate by the Painter of Cambridge 72	178
75a–b	The Greifswald cup	179
76a–b	The Ghent cup	180
77	The Dresden stemmed plate	181
78	Cup by the Painter of London E113	182
79	East frieze of the Hephaisteion IV	182
80	East frieze of the Hephaisteion III	183
81	Nemesis base, front	183
82	The Eupheros stele	184
83	Funerary stele in Copenhagen	184
84	Funerary stele from Megara	185
85	The stele of Philoxenos and Philomene	185
86	The stele of Chaeredemos and Lykeas	186
87	Funerary stele with a maiden	186
88	Funerary stele of a woman with mirror	187
89	Votive relief in Copenhagen	188
90	Relief with a youth putting reins on his horse	189

PREFACE

It was a seminar on autochthony held by Professors Marcel Detienne and Alan Shapiro at Johns Hopkins University that initially inspired me to examine the work of the Codrus Painter and to become better acquainted with his repertory, style, and preferred export markets. Little did I know then that the iconographic core of the present study would evolve from that first paper.

There has been a lot of discussion in the past regarding John Beazley's methodology, the validity of attributing Attic figurative vases to specific hands, and the value of trying to reconstruct the character of a painter and his workshop based on these attributions.¹ I do not feel the need to defend the study of a single vase-painter, as others have done that much more eloquently. I will, however, explain here why I chose to examine the work of the Codrus Painter and how I think a book on the iconography of his vases and their reception in non-Greek areas contributes to the field of classical art and archaeology.

Gathering vases of identical or similar style under the artificial name of a single painter, and building around this persona a group of apprentices and followers, allows us to discover the links of collaboration between various pottery workshops within Athens and create a useful chronological tool. Once we begin tracing stylistic influences, we may compare the use of motifs and patterns, explore the impact of contemporary sculpture and painting, and place these modest clay objects within the bigger frame of artistic production. Considering the limited preservation of sculptures and monumental paintings from antiquity, the study of vases offers one way to obtain a fuller notion of the visual arts. The Codrus Painter specialized in the decoration of drinking cups. Most of the vases attributed to his own hand are of excellent quality and reveal expressive drawing, illustrating subjects that reflect not only the historical

situation of his age, but also excerpts from daily life. His career coincides with the decade leading to the Peloponnesian War, a period that saw both the construction of the Parthenon and rising conflict with Sparta; his vase paintings reproduce the atmosphere of this era, depicting mythological episodes that promote the Athenian ideal of autochthony and show the departures of warriors. At the same time his cups preserve exquisite athletic scenes, granting us a glimpse inside the palastras and baths of Periclean Athens. In addition, the influence of his time is evident in a more concrete way, as he copies figure-types, subjects, and sculptural qualities from contemporary reliefs and statues, the influence of Phidias and his workshop being particularly notable.

After ascribing vases to a single painter and his Circle, the study moves on to a different level: that of trade. Not all painters targeted the same markets, nor did they decorate their vases with the same subjects. What is intriguing about the Codrus Painter is the fact that almost all the vases attributed to his hand, and even those associated with his Circle, were discovered outside Greece, based on our current knowledge of their provenance. (The exceptions are two fragments, the Acropolis fragment [cat. 7, pl. 4] and the Brauron cup [cat. 20, pl. 11].) Not a single sherd by the Codrus Painter has been found on the Aegean islands, in Asia Minor, or further east, with the rather late exception of a cup in his Manner unearthed in the Black Sea area (cat. 80). In contrast to other vase-painters of his age, the Codrus Painter appears to have targeted the Italian market almost exclusively, and primarily Etruscan sites, while producing only one shape: the much desired kylix.

In this book I present the characteristic traits of the Codrus Painter's style and describe how they differentiate him from members of his Circle; I also compare his work with

that of contemporary painters, without, however, pursuing an exhaustive study of stylistic attributions or a detailed examination of the pottery workshops he is affiliated with. Instead, I am more interested in discussing the subjects illustrated on his vases, tracing the sources of his inspiration and exploring how non-Greek customers perceived vases with core Athenian myths, satyr plays, and nude athletes.

To my mind, art and archaeology make up one field with many branches, and the study of Attic vases and vase-painters such as the Codrus Painter demonstrates their in-

terdependence. We all wish that we had more names of craftsmen, more objects with known provenance, and more securely identified and dated archaeological contexts in order to create the most reliable picture of antiquity; but until that day comes, we need to study the style and iconography of Attic vases, along with poorly preserved architectural remains, mutilated sculptures, and ambiguous texts, in order to reconstruct parts of the ancient world. If we do otherwise, we exclude a significant source of information.

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During this wonderful journey, I had the privilege of meeting many scholars from all over the world who kindly provided me with photographs, permissions, and information essential for the completion of my dissertation and the publication of this book. I am indebted to them all.

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The guidance and insightful comments of two colleagues have been invaluable to me. I am indebted to John Oakley for his kind support and critical observations, and to my mentor, Alan Shapiro, whose work has been an inspiration. I would also like to thank Mario Iozzo, Adrienne Lezzi-Hafter, Margot Schmidt(†), Michalis Tiverios, and Athena Tsingarida, as well as the anonymous readers of this manuscript, for their helpful suggestions and critique. Last but not least, this book could not have been published without financial support from the D. Robinson Publication Fund (Johns Hopkins University) and the commitment of the University of Wisconsin Press.

Numerous friends and colleagues generously offered their comments and discussed my ideas and concerns about the Codrus Painter and Attic vase painting in general, but it is my husband, Jamieson Donati, to whom I am particularly thankful for his tolerance and encouragement.

Lastly, this work would not have been accomplished without the continuous patience, support, and understanding of my family, to whom this book is dedicated, ελάχιστο δείγμα ευγνωμοσύνης.

THE CODRUS PAINTER

The Codrus Painter is one of the most distinctive Athenian cup-painters of the second half of the fifth century. Sir John Beazley, the guru of Attic vase painting, named him after the mythical Athenian king Codrus, depicted on one of the artist's cups in Bologna (cat. 1, pl. 1a).¹

In this book I discuss iconographic questions regarding the repertory and meaning of the cups by the Codrus Painter and his Circle, as well as matters of style, motifs, and figure-types. His oeuvre is examined within the historical and political situation of the late fifth century and is further associated with the artistic production of this period so that we may trace the influence of sculptural and painted prototypes on his works, along with the impact of theatrical productions. Prompted by the findspot of several of his vases, such as the Divine Banquet cup (cat. 3, pl. 10) and the Theseus cycle cup (cat. 16, pl. 5), I also address the role of Attic vases in Etruria and the Etruscan perception of the scenes depicted on them. By taking into account similarities and differences in the reception, use, and understanding of vases in Athens and abroad, we can gain not only a fuller notion of the commercial relations between diverse cultures but also a glimpse of the societies and the traditions in which the vases were manufactured and imported.

1.1 HISTORY OF RESEARCH

Research into the style of the Codrus Painter dates back more than a century. Scholars acknowledged early on his brilliant and accurate drawing, but the affinities of his style to the work of contemporary painters, especially Aison, often led to confusion. In particular, some vases that appear similar to his style but not close enough to be attributed to his own hand have been ascribed in the past to the

"Manner of" or an artist "Near" the Codrus Painter (see also sections 2.2 and 4.2–6 and chapter 5 in this volume). The degree of association with the Codrus Painter's style was in some cases a matter of unremitting contestation, settled only after the appearance of Beazley's catalogues (see section 5.2). In this complex and fascinating process, many scholars contributed to the creation of the Codrus Painter's profile.

One of the first vases that sparked scholarly interest was the one after which the Codrus Painter was first named (as the "Painter of the Themis cup in Berlin": cat. 17, pl. 8).² That cup received a three-page commentary in Eduard Gerhard's pioneering work on vases of Etruscan origin (1858), in which he not only described and interpreted the scenes but, most importantly, provided an accurate reading of the names inscribed in the tondo, visible only after the vase was cleaned. Gerhard also incorporated into his catalogue the Apodyterion cup, with its bathing athletes (cat. 24, pl. 34), and inserted drawings for all the cups he discussed, even though these were not always accurate.³

Adolf Furtwängler, in his catalogue of the Antiquarium in Berlin (1885), assigned the Themis cup to the hand that manufactured the Erichthonios cup (cat. 2, pl. 3) and included in the same group the cup with an acrobat in the tondo, praising its beautiful drawing and statuary character (cat. 88, pl. 43).⁴ A decade later, in 1896, Cecil Smith called attention to the Divine Banquet cup in the British Museum (cat. 3, pl. 10) and associated it with the Themis cup and the Erichthonios cup, known then as the Cornetto cup. The Theseus cycle cup (cat. 16, pl. 5) and three more cups with palaistra scenes housed in the British Museum (cat. 24, pl. 34; cat. 37, pl. 47; cat. 44, pl. 48) were also incorporated into his list. Smith was among the first to notice the similarity of the drawing on the Theseus cup to that

on the smaller cycle cup in Harrow (pl. 6).⁵ Most, if not all, of these cups came from Vulci and once belonged to the Prince de Canino (Lucien Bonaparte) or to Emil Braun, secretary of the German Institute in Rome.⁶

A few years later, Giuseppe Pellegrini published in his *Catalogo dei vasi antichi dipinti delle collezioni Palagi ed Universitaria* the namepiece of the Codrus Painter, the Codrus cup (cat. 1, pl. 1). It caused a sensation and was considered “unique of its kind, worthy of a prestigious place in the history of Greek vase-painting.” The exciting story of the Codrus cup begins with its discovery by Canino in Vulci in 1840, continues with its role as the prized possession of several noblemen and collectors, and culminates in a dreadful accident that reduced the cup to pieces. A dealer named Basseggio purchased the kylix from Canino, only to resell it to Palagi, a famous collector at the time. The transaction took place through the mediation of Braun for a total of 4,000 Italian lire. Basseggio outwitted the Germans, who were unable to authorize the requested amount in time to obtain the vase themselves. From Braun’s letters, it appears that the cup, after being restored by Basseggio, remained in good condition and was put on display in a conspicuous spot in the “Gabinetto del Palagi” in Turin. Unfortunately, in 1846 a visitor overturned the vitrine in which the cup was displayed, and the vessel was again broken into many pieces, leading to a second restoration.⁷

In 1919 Joseph Hoppin listed under the name of the Codrus Painter three cups (the Erichthonios cup, the Codrus cup, and the Divine Banquet cup), while he attributed to Aison, a painter stylistically and chronologically close to our painter, the Themis cup, the Theseus cup, and the Harrow cup (pl. 6), as well as his signature piece (pl. 7), thus grouping all three cycle cups under that one painter’s name.⁸ A few years later Pericle Ducati commented on the Parthenonian qualities of the Codrus cup and the Erichthonios cup, as well as that of the chous in Oxford (cat. 66, fig. 3.1).⁹ Ducati was among the first scholars to attempt an assessment of the influence of these cups on later painters, such as Aristophanes.¹⁰

Ernst Pfuhl also considered the Themis and Theseus cups to be early works of Aison, and he was the first to observe the paratactic arrangement of the figures, especially on the Codrus and Erichthonios cups. He explained it as a refined, progressive stage of the stiff black-figure assemblies of gods and onlookers in the motif of the *sacra conversazione*, and he associated it with the sculptural decoration of the Parthenon. Commenting on another vase by the Codrus Painter, the Divine Banquet cup, Pfuhl captured in a unique way the atmosphere of the scenes: “What a distance separates this solemnly conducted and yet so human band of gods from the naive human symposia on archaic cups.”¹¹

In his study of Athenian pottery in the time of Pericles, Charles Dugas focused his examination on Aison and at-

tributed to his early phase the Codrus cup and the Divine Banquet cup, while he considered the Themis cup and the Cassandra cup (cat. 19, pl. 16) to represent the peak of Aison’s career. Because of Aison’s signed cycle cup in Madrid (pl. 7), Dugas attributed two more cycle cups to the same painter: the Theseus cup by the Codrus Painter and a close parallel, the Harrow cup. Dugas went so far as to consider the Erichthonios cup also a work of Aison.¹²

In the massive work of Furtwängler, Hauser, and Reichhold, the Themis cup in Berlin was considered an early work by a predecessor of Aristophanes and attributed to the painter of “the Theseus cycle-cup in London.” According to Hauser, all three cycle cups (Aison’s signature piece, the Theseus cup by the Codrus Painter, and the Harrow cup, pls. 5–7) should be attributed to a teacher of Aison, if not to Aison himself, and dated before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, with the Theseus cup predating Aison’s kylix in Madrid.¹³

When Beazley examined the oeuvre of the Codrus Painter in his *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* (1925), he attributed to the “Maler der Bologneser Kodrosschale” nineteen vases (all cups), highlighting the Parthenonian reflections of his work. To the three better-known cups attributed to the Codrus Painter (the Themis, Erichthonios, and Divine Banquet cups), Beazley added the controversial Theseus and Harrow cups and the three kylikes with palaistra scenes in London. He also ascribed to the hand of the Codrus Painter the Cassandra cup, the fragments in New York and Tarquinia (cat. 5, pl. 24; cat. 21, pl. 20), and six cups with palaistra scenes (cat. 33; cat. 36, pl. 57; cat. 43, pl. 51; cat. 69, pl. 54; cat. 70, pl. 53; cat. 73).¹⁴ Additionally, Beazley considered the cup in the British Museum (Inv. E81) depicting Athena and Kadmos in the tondo and the punishment of the Niobids on the exterior to be close to the Codrus Painter’s style, while he attributed the chous in Oxford to a hand near the Eretria Painter.¹⁵

Almost twenty years later, in the first edition of *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters* (1942), Beazley made additional attributions and classifications, as well as some disassociations (such as the cup in the British Museum, E81).¹⁶ The number of vases attributed to the Codrus Painter increased to thirty-two, and four new groups of cups attributed to his Manner were added, ranging from close to coarse copies, imitations, and vases attributed to a hand between the Codrus Painter and Aison. Most of the newly listed cups are currently housed in Italian museums, particularly in Florence, Naples, and the Villa Giulia in Rome.¹⁷

In the second edition of ARV, published in 1963, the vases attributed to the hand of the Codrus Painter increased to forty-six, including cups, cups-skyphoi, stemless cups, and stemmed plates.¹⁸ Beazley added the fragmentary cup in the Astarita Collection (cat. 10, pl. 17), three cups from Spina (the Triton cup [cat. 18, pl. 14], the Her-

akles cup [cat. 22, pl. 22], and a kylix with athletes [cat. 36, pl. 57]), the cup in Zurich with a departure scene (cat. 31), two cups in the Louvre (cat. 23, pl. 32; cat. 30, pl. 58), three in Barcelona (cat. 29, pl. 33; cat. 41, pl. 38; cat. 43, pl. 51), two more cups in Christchurch and Cape Town with athletic scenes (cat. 49; cat. 72, pl. 32), and the Seesaw cup in New York (cat. 9, pl. 72), along with some more fragments.

Beazley regrouped the cups associated with the Codrus Painter and arranged them in five new sections. The first consisted of cups in the Manner of the Codrus Painter, including imitations and copies, as in the first edition. The second group comprised five cups by the hand of the Painter of Cambridge 72, named after his most characteristic cup, housed in the Fitzwilliam Museum (cat. 98, pl. 73), and two more cups with athletes, attributed to a different hand. The third section consisted of three cups, which Beazley believed to be not only copies of the style but actually direct copies of specific cups by the Codrus Painter, despite the hastiness of the drawing. In particular, the Amazonomachy cup has a special place in Beazley's catalogue, since it emulates early works of the Codrus Painter (cat. 93, pl. 19). The last group, five cups between the style of the Codrus Painter and Aison, remained unchanged from the first edition.¹⁹ In the first *Addenda*, two new cups by the Codrus Painter were incorporated: the cup in Richmond (cat. 69, pl. 54) and the cup in Brauron (cat. 20, pl. 11).²⁰ *Paralipomena* added a cup in Basel (cat. 15, pl. 9) and fragments in Sydney and Copenhagen (cat. 27; cat. 51, pl. 39).²¹

After Beazley's catalogues the corpus of the Codrus Painter's vases was enriched with new attributions by Ernst Berger (cat. 15, pl. 9), Lucilla Burn (cat. 54, pl. 23), Margot Schmidt (cat. 25, pl. 42), and several other scholars, who attributed to his hand or to his Manner both fragments and whole cups. The most prolific contribution was made by Adrienne Lezzi-Hafter, who attributed seven vases to the Codrus Painter and his Circle, including a suggestion that the painter's hand might be recognized on a shape other than cups.²²

In addition, Cornelia Isler-Kerényi elaborated on a more refined chronological scheme for the Codrus Painter's vases, examining them in connection with the larger production of Attic pottery of the period. Thus, she concluded that the Codrus cup (cat. 1, pl. 1) should be dated shortly after 440 BCE, followed by the Erichthonios cup (cat. 2, pl. 3) and the Divine Banquet cup (cat. 3, pl. 10). Around 430 comes the Basel cup (cat. 15, pl. 9) and the Theseus cup in London (cat. 16, pl. 5) and later in the same decade the Themis cup in Berlin (cat. 17, pl. 8). The Dionysos cup in Würzburg (cat. 53, pl. 21) is dated around 420. This scheme places the acme of the Codrus Painter around 430.²³

Most of the vases by the Codrus Painter are housed today in museums in Italy, while others form part of collections in London, Barcelona, and Basel. Several cups by

the Codrus Painter and his Circle once belonged to the Campana Collection, which explains their dispersal among European museums such as the Hermitage and the Musées Royaux in Brussels, which acquired parts of that collection before it was finally sold to the Louvre.²⁴

1.2 DATING THE WORK OF THE CODRUS PAINTER

The study of Greek vase painting, and particularly of Attic black- and red-figure ware, presents a lot of challenges, not only in terms of attribution and iconography, but also with regard to matters of provenance and dating. Many vases housed today in museums and collections all over the world have no registered provenance; once they have been stripped from their original context, information regarding their findspot and date is bound to remain incomplete. Following the unsurpassable work of John Beazley,²⁵ scholars attempted to fix this problem and turned to the study of style, shapes, and the development of networks of potters and painters. This led to the successful creation of a chronological chart of nearly all the Athenian painters, named and nameless. The validity of stylistic analysis as a chronological tool is further secured by the few vases found in well-dated contexts, which in their turn become invaluable as reference points and comparanda for the rest of the cases.

For the last thirty years of the fifth century, certain fixed points of chronology help us construct and fine-tune the artificial dating system of Athenian red-figure pottery by providing well-established post and ante quem termini. Particularly in the case of the Codrus Painter, comparisons with securely dated works by Aison and the Eretria Painter are of considerable help. For example, after the destruction of the city of Cumae in Campania by the Samnites in 421/420 BCE, imports of Attic pottery ceased. Among the finds of the destruction level was a lekythos by Aison, a painter contemporary with or slightly later than the Codrus Painter. Since the Codrus Painter's style is close to that of Aison, this observation suggests that the vases attributed to the former cannot date after 420. The Thespian Polyandria (424 BCE) and the Tomb of the Kerkyreans in Kerameikos (432) contained vases comparable in shape and decoration to those of the Eretria Painter and his workshop, dated ca. 440–430.²⁶ As the peak of the Eretria Painter is placed about 440, we gain a good reference for the chronological framework of the Codrus Painter, whose style is similar to, yet more developed than, the Eretria Painter's. New discoveries, such as the mass tombs unearthed in Athens during the Metro excavations, provide us with new information: from the communal grave in Kerameikos comes a red-figure lekythos depicting a departure scene, attributed to the workshop of the Klügmann Painter and dated to about 430.²⁷ The scene is compared to the tondo decoration of a cup by the Calliope Painter,²⁸ an

artist from the workshop of the Eretria Painter, stylistically close to and contemporary with the Codrus Painter (cf. the Triton cup [cat. 18, pl. 14] and the Cassandra cup [cat. 19, pl. 16]).²⁹ This juxtaposition confirms the suggested date for most of the Codrus Painter's production of around 430.

The results of such comparisons are validated not only by stylistic affinities between the painters, but mainly by the fact that vases by these painters are jointly found in other tomb complexes.³⁰ For example, vases attributed to the hand or Manner of the Codrus Painter have been discovered together with vases by the Eretria Painter and

Aison in at least three known tombs in Italy: a hypogaeum at Ceglie del Campo in Taras,³¹ a tomb in Todi in Contrada S. Raffaele in Central Italy (the so-called Tomb of Vases and Bronzes),³² and a tomb in Spina, Valle Trebbia.³³ Therefore, their contemporaneity is attested in terms of style and also in the archaeological record. If we combine these data with the results of stylistic analyses and comparisons with the sculptural works produced between 440 and 400 (e.g., the Parthenon sculptures and funerary reliefs),³⁴ it is safe to suggest for the work of the Codrus Painter a date between 440 and 420/410 and to place his peak around 430.

2.1 DETAILS OF THE DRAWING

Pottery is the most concrete and widely diffused remnant of antiquity, and its investigation invites several disciplines and approaches. The study of Attic figured pottery, moreover, offers particularly favorable conditions, allowing investigators to concentrate not only on the object but also on the human agents behind it: the craftsmen who potted and painted the vase, as well as its final owner. Every painter has a unique, characteristic way of rendering compositional elements, and thanks to this individuality, we are able today to trace the hands of anonymous Attic vase-painters, such as the Codrus Painter, and ascribe to them specific vases. Anatomical details of the figures depicted on vases and repeated motifs of drapery and hairstyle help us to identify a painter's character.¹ Typical features of the Codrus Painter's design include the distinctive rendering of noses and ears; a unique way of drawing eyes, with a look fixed beyond the neighboring figure or the center of the composition; the highlighting of anatomical details with additional, thinner lines; and the voluminous, wavy edges of his mantles.² Certain figure-types are repeated often, while sashes and hairbands frequently decorate his female figures. In this chapter I introduce the most recurrent char-

acteristics of the Codrus Painter's style; chapter 4 presents a chronological treatment of his work.

The Codrus Painter can be distinguished from other painters thanks to his distinctive drawing of musculature, his preference for certain body-types, and the repetition of specific motifs. A close observation of his work demonstrates an interest in the human body, particularly the male, athletic type, and an ability to sketch expressive profiles with precise contours and few added lines (fig. 2.1).

The serious, solemn profiles of his figures are so characteristic of the Codrus Painter that they can be considered his signature pieces. A straight, long line delineates forehead and nose. The forehead is usually narrow, covered by locks of hair that form a horizontal or slightly angled line, while the nose is rather small and pointed. The lips are full and remain discernible even after the addition of moustache and beard. The chin is usually heavy and round, and corresponds well with the rather bulky neck of both males and females. Sometimes the neck bulges in the back near the nape. The eyes drawn by the Codrus Painter are usually large, with the upper eyelid longer than the lower and the iris depicted as a small dot (or as a sharp, short line) attached to the upper lid. Eyebrows are pronounced



Figure 2.1. Profiles: the Basel Athletes cup (cat. 25, pl. 40b), the Apodyterion cup (cat. 24, pl. 34), the Erichthonios cup (cat. 2, pl. 3a [twice])



Figure 2.2. Ears: the Herakles cup (cat. 22, pl. 22b), the Tarquinia cup (cat. 21, pl. 20)

and extend toward the temples, parallel to the upper eyelid.

The ears are usually set correctly, equidistant from eyes, hair, and neck. A semicircular contour outlines the ear, and two smaller, omega-shaped lines of diluted clay indicate the details. Occasionally, the inner cartilage is replaced by two parallel lines or a V-shaped pattern. In a few cases hair covers the ears completely. Women's ears may also be adorned with earrings. Satyrs' ears are, of course, different: they are rather small, pointed toward the eyes, drawn in outline with no details accentuating their animal qualities, and clearly visible even through wild, curly hair. Sometimes the satyr's ears are formed solely by the outline of his hair and beard, without any other details (fig. 2.2).

The Codrus Painter's repertory of hairstyles contains four basic types. The short, wavy hair of young males (e.g., athletes, beardless warriors, gods, heroes) is usually drawn as a black mass with smaller or bigger curves for the outline, and only a few locks falling freely on the forehead and around the ears. Exceptionally vivid hair is depicted on the Apodyterion cup (cat. 24), where one of the athletes is shown washing his hair. Long, well-groomed locks are the typical coiffure of figures wearing a petasos, in contrast to helmeted figures, where the head and face are almost entirely covered (fig. 2.3).

The wavy or curly hair of adult male figures (e.g., gods, heroes, warriors, trainers) is often paired with moustache and beard. Again, the top part of the hair is drawn as one mass with few locks falling on the sides and almost none on the forehead, since the hair is kept in place by a wreath or a band. Beards tend to be short and well-trimmed, except for the rather long and wild beard of Dionysos on the Divine Banquet cup, a style that matches his rich, long, wavy hair. Elderly men are occasionally depicted with white hair and beard (fig. 2.4).

Apart from one exceptionally ecstatic maenad (cat. 21, pl. 20), women maintain their decorum in the repertory of the Codrus Painter, and this also applies to their hairstyles. Women wear their hair in a knot at the nape of the neck, either in a sakkos or tied with bands. Diadems are worn



Figure 2.3. Hair and headgear for young men: the New York cup (cat. 5, pl. 24), the Apodyterion cup (cat. 24, pl. 34), the Codrus cup (cat. 1, pl. 1c, a)

only by goddesses, such as Athena (cat. 1, pl. 1b) and Hera (cat. 3, pl. 10a). A long mantle may also cover a woman's head (fig. 2.5).

Satyrs' hairstyle befits their animal qualities: a deeply recessed hairline, with wavy or curly locks paired with a bushy yet neat beard. A thick moustache often covers their snub noses (see above, fig. 2.2).

Another instructive detail of the Codrus Painter's style involves the drawing of fingers. Both male and female figures use expressive gestures when conversing with each other, offering libations, or engaged in a sport. The Codrus Painter draws hands with a few simple strokes. The fingers are rather thin, yet not long, and follow the proportions of the hand and arm. Details such as knuckles and nails are not depicted, and only the interior of the palm may have



Figure 2.4. Hair and headgear for adult men: the Divine Banquet cup (cat. 3, pl. 10b), the Astarita cup (cat. 10A, pl. 17)



Figure 2.5. Women's hair and headgear: the Tarquinia cup (cat. 21, pl. 20), the Codrus cup (cat. 1, pl. 1c [twice]), the Divine Banquet cup (cat. 3, pl. 10b), the Erichthonios cup (cat. 2, pl. 3a)

lines (relief or diluted) indicating muscles and movement. Nevertheless, the foreshortening and plasticity of some hands is noteworthy and results in a variety of gestures and poses: for example, elegantly pulling a garment or extracting perfume from a jar with the utmost realism (fig. 2.6).

Also telling is the Codrus Painter's unique way of drawing the kneecaps. The contour loosely follows a diamond shape and consists of no more than three lines. The other sides of the diamond remain unattached and include additional smaller lines, thus creating a very realistic depiction of knees. If a figure is shown in motion, the diamond follows the movement and becomes more elongated; on a seated figure, an extra set of lines delineates the stretched skin around the knee (fig. 2.7).

One of the most distinguishing features of the Codrus Painter's style is his detailed drawing of the nude male torso, especially the bones and musculature. Even satyrs display well-trained bodies. Our painter usually draws the neck bones as a curly bracket, sometimes emphasizing the pointed section in the middle, and at other times making

the side bones more angular. It is quite normal for the clavicle to be placed some distance from the shoulders, outlined by two curvy relief lines. The chest is almost always toned, mainly indicated by two curved lines that extend up to the armpits, and a single central line. A small diamond is drawn between the sternum and the abdomen, while the *linea alba* continues more or less uninterrupted down to the navel, the latter being usually drawn as a circle, similar to the nipples. A U-shaped line defines the groin, and two round parentheses embrace the bones of the pelvis. Thinner, vertical lines flank the navel, thus accentuating the muscles, while another set of horizontal lines forms the contour of the thorax (fig. 2.8).

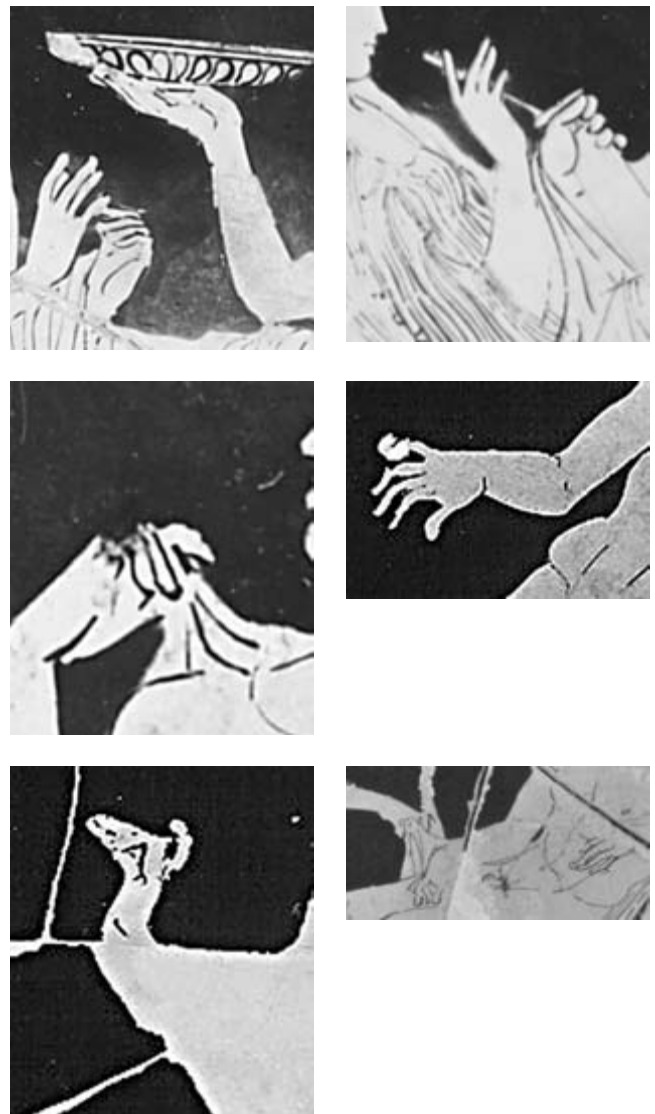


Figure 2.6. Fingers and hands: the Divine Banquet cup (cat. 3, pl. 10b, a), the Erichthonios cup (cat. 2, pl. 3a), the Basel Athletes cup (cat. 25, pl. 40a [twice]), the Herakles cup (cat. 22, pl. 22b)

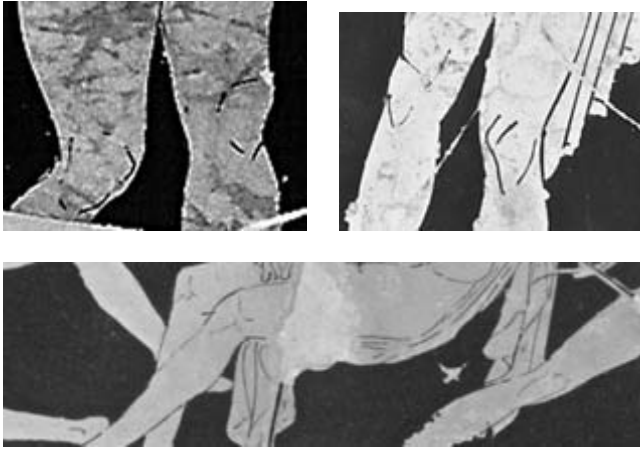


Figure 2.7. Knees: the Basel Athletes cup (cat. 25, pl. 40b), the Erichthonios cup (cat. 2, pl. 3a), the Herakles cup (cat. 22, pl. 22b)



Figure 2.8. Male torsos: the Basel Athletes cup (cat. 25, pl. 40b), the New York cup (cat. 5, pl. 24), the Apodyterion cup (cat. 24, pl. 34), the Erichthonios cup (cat. 2, pl. 3a), the Tarquinia cup (cat. 21, pl. 20)

When compared with the drawing of his vibrant, athletic bodies, the garments by the Codrus Painter appear static and dull. It is usually women and older men who are dressed in something more substantial than a small mantle or a cape. Elderly men often wear long himatia with a large overfold wrapped around the waist; the garment covers most of the back and falls over the left shoulder and torso. Using the left hand to hold the himation in place, the wearer can also regulate the flow of the folds. The Codrus Painter uses overlapping straight lines for the wrinkled fabric near the shoulder and the waist and zigzag motifs for the trim, whose wavy motion is perfectly aligned, resembling well-calculated steps rather than folds. The contour of the body is usually visible under the mantle, thanks to a few additional lines (fig. 2.9). The painter's preference for simplicity over fluidity is evident in the folds of smaller garments, such as the himatia worn occasionally by athletes and warriors, as well as in the heavy peploi of female figures, whose strict, vertical folds often conceal movement. On the other hand, his thin, transparent fabrics allow for more freedom and decoration. For example, the long female chitons show a variety of folds, from zigzag hems and multi-pleated sleeves to curved neckline folds and wavy draping of crossbands (fig. 2.10).

2.2 THE STYLE OF PAINTERS NEAR THE CODRUS PAINTER

As we have seen (chapter 1), certain vases appear similar to the style of the Codrus Painter but not close enough to be attributed to his own hand. These vases are ascribed here to the Circle of the Codrus Painter, and the attribu-



Figure 2.9. Male clothing: the Erichthonios cup (cat. 2, pl. 3b, a)



Figure 2.10. Female clothing: the Codrus cup (cat. 1, pl. 1b), the Erichthonios cup (cat. 2, pl. 3b), the Brauron cup (cat. 20, pl. 11a), the Triton cup (cat. 18, pl. 14c), the Louvre Nike cup (cat. 23, pl. 32a)

tions are further defined, based on proximity to his drawing, as “Manner of” and “Compare/Near/Recalls the Codrus Painter.” In some cases it is hard to decide between the hand of the Codrus Painter and that of another artist, such as Aison or the Painter of Cambridge 72; in others, only the spirit of earlier compositions by the Codrus Painter can still be discerned. To the Circle of the Codrus Painter are attributed mainly vases decorated with athletic scenes, a few with mythological episodes (e.g., the Amazonomachy cup, cat. 93, pl. 19), and even fewer with Dionysiac content

(e.g., the Oxford chous, cat. 66). The most popular shape is the cup, stemmed and stemless, although there are also a few stemmed plates and one chous.³ This section presents an overview of stylistic details deviating from the Codrus Painter’s drawing. It should be noted that not all such characteristics apply to the different groups within his Circle. For an analysis of these variations and a comment on the use of the word “Circle,” see sections 4.2–6.

If one compares the figures depicted on cups by the Circle of the Codrus Painter with the ones by his own hand, the differences become fairly obvious. The Codrus Painter’s solemn faces give way to rather mechanical reproductions of predominantly male profiles: the nose becomes more angular and is usually placed too far south from the eye; the latter acquires an elongated, narrower shape, and often a sharp line instead of a dot indicates the iris. The lips are rarely as full as the Codrus Painter’s; instead, with a few striking exceptions (e.g., on the Amazonomachy cup) a flat, short line describes the mouth (fig. 2.11).

Equally different is the rendering of the chin, usually drawn as a small, pronounced curve. The ear is reduced to tiny parentheses with no elaborate details. Hairstyles vary from painter to painter: in general, men tend to have short, wavy hair covering most of the forehead, the sideline creating a triangle with the nose and the eyebrow. Few locks fall freely around the ear. Painters drawing in the Manner of the Codrus Painter are close to his originals, while certain head-types are more reminiscent of Aison’s drawing (e.g., the Berlin cup, cat. 88). The most distant examples are found on the Geneva cup (cat. 95). The female head



Figure 2.11. Circle of the Codrus Painter, faces: the Amazonomachy cup (cat. 93, pl. 19b), the Ex-Charterhouse cup (cat. 94, pl. 30a), the Geneva Athletes cup (cat. 95, pl. 56a), the Cambridge Athletes cup (cat. 68, pl. 45b), the Hermitage Torch Race cup (cat. 105, pl. 55a), the Berlin cup (cat. 88, pl. 43c)

on the Amazonomachy cup is noteworthy, since it reflects a previous head-type by the Codrus Painter: the ecstatic maenad on the Tarquinia cup (cat. 21, pl. 20).

With regard to anatomical details, the athletic bodies decorating the vases by members of the Circle of the Codrus Painter are poor imitations of the head artist's models. The neck bones are reduced to two simple lines rarely meeting the shoulders, while the diamond at the center of the chest is dissolved and replaced by either two circles (e.g., the Battlefield cup, cat. 92) or an omega-shape curve (e.g., the ex-Charterhouse cup, cat. 94; the Cambridge Athletes cup, cat. 68; the Richmond cup, cat. 69; and the Geneva cup, cat. 95). The *linea alba* is usually delineated only on the ab-

domen, as either a single or a double line; the fuller *linea alba* on the Hermitage Torch Race cup is unique (fig. 2.12).

The abdominal muscles and ribs are rarely indicated (as they are on the Dresden cup), as is also true of the navel; circles rather than dots are, as a rule, used for nipples. The groin area is usually outlined by a V-shaped motif, in contrast to the U-shape of the Codrus Painter; for an imitation of his style, see the ex-Charterhouse cup and the Dresden cup, and the narrow U-shape on the Richmond cup (fig. 2.13).

When viewed in profile, the figures' spines retain none of the harmonious proportions of the Codrus Painter's originals (e.g., the Themis [cat. 17, pl. 8a–c], Basel [cat. 15, pl. 9a–c], and Triton cups [cat. 18 pl. 14a–c]); instead, the spine becomes a highly accentuated curve, often with angular, sharp ends. The buttocks follow the same pattern and often acquire a triangular or squarish shape (fig. 2.14). The flabby body of the athlete on the Geneva cup is quite striking.



Figure 2.12. Circle of the Codrus Painter, necks and abdomens: the Ex-Charterhouse cup (cat. 94, pl. 30c), the Battlefield cup (cat. 92, pl. 31a), the Berlin cup (cat. 88, pl. 43c), the Hermitage Torch Race cup (cat. 105, pl. 55a)

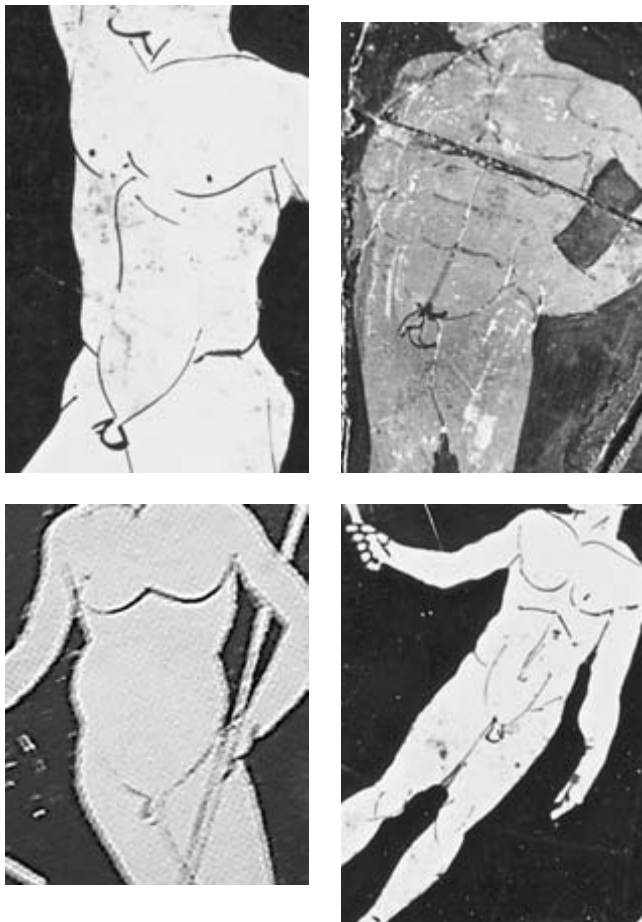


Figure 2.13. Circle of the Codrus Painter, torsos: the Cambridge Athletes cup (cat. 68, pl. 45b), the Dresden cup (cat. 71, fig. 3.3), the Geneva Athletes cup (cat. 95, pl. 56a), the Richmond cup (cat. 69, pl. 54c)

2.3 RECURRENT MOTIFS AND FIGURE-TYPES

In addition to the traits that help us define the personal style of the Codrus Painter and the imitations of his work examined above, there are several motifs and figure-types that he and his followers repeat in their repertoires. Vase-painters have a stock of figure-types that they use in different contexts, even though the subject and the final arrangement of the figures give the composition a new meaning every time. Sculptures and paintings on a larger scale (known mostly from the literary sources) are often thought to provide the prototype for some popular figure-types in the work of vase-painters. The mere presence of these typical features is not enough to associate a vase with the style of the Codrus Painter, but taken with characteristic drawing details and favorite themes, this list of repeated motifs and figure-types becomes a useful tool of attribution.

It is interesting to study the figure-types commonly employed by the Codrus Painter and his Circle and trace how often they recur on the vases they produced between 440

and 420/410. A figure-type may be taken from a certain scene and reused in a totally new ensemble, but occasionally it can be incorporated into a new composition of the same character, as, for example, in the case of palaistra scenes, where athletes and youths are almost interchangeable from one cup to the next, or libation scenes, where the same type of female assistant/family member reappears. The use of identical or similar figure-types is valuable to us today because it helps us recognize the work of the painter and associate more vases with his style; it also allows us to follow the development of his drawing and facilitates the attribution of new vases to his hand or Manner.

The Codrus Painter is known for his athletic scenes and

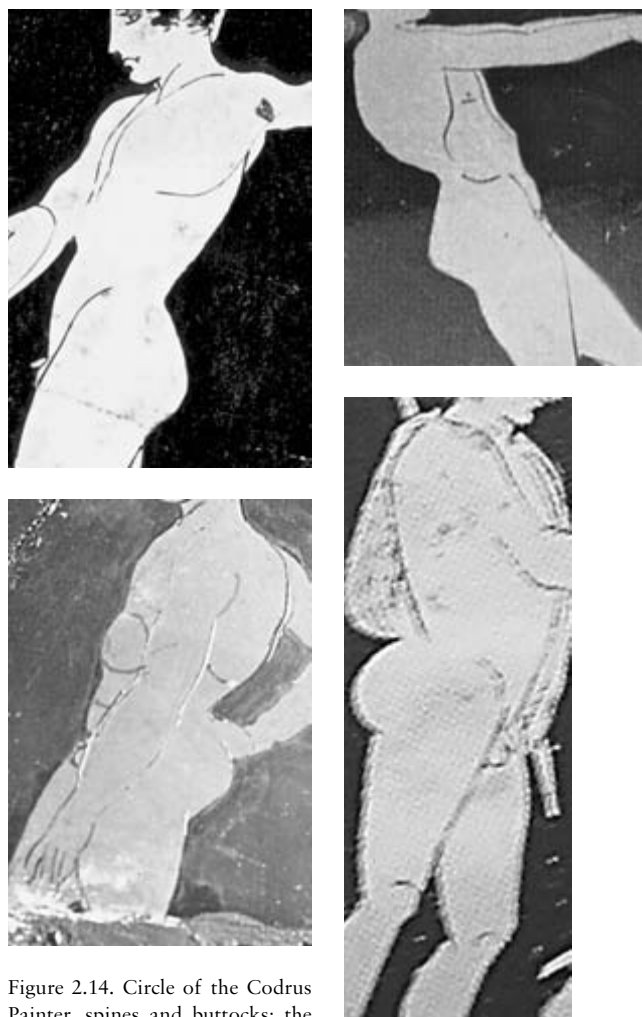


Figure 2.14. Circle of the Codrus Painter, spines and buttocks: the Cambridge Athletes cup (cat. 68, pl. 45c), the Chapel Hill cup (cat. 70, pl. 53c), the Dresden cup (cat. 71, fig. 3.3), the Geneva Athletes cup (cat. 95, pl. 56a)

particularly for expressive, masterful representations of the male body that bring to life his athletes, heroes, and satyrs. He was active during the period of intensive progress in monumental painting and sculpture, and a knowledge of contemporary artistic developments is reflected in his work. This influence is evident in the unexpected perspective he employs and the foreshortened bodies of his figures and the drawing of faces in three-quarter view, as well as his preference for diluted glaze for details and the frequent appearance of outlined rocky landscapes.

The following list includes body-types and motifs found on cups by the Codrus Painter that are often echoed on vases attributed to his Manner or broader Circle, either with small variations or altogether unchanged.

1. Youth or athlete shown in profile, extending one hand, often in front of altar or pillar (e.g., cat. 36, pl. 57a; cat. 67, pl. 44b; cat. 68, pl. 45a)
2. Youth scraping off dirt, one hand at the back of his neck (e.g., cat. 25, pl. 40b; cat. 26, pl. 41b)
3. Woman assisting in a libation, holding phiale or oinochoe (e.g., cat. 8, pl. 26b; cat. 18, pl. 14b–c)
4. Youth or man leaning on pillar or stick, often with legs crossed (e.g., cat. 19, pl. 16b; cat. 94, pl. 30a–b)
5. Man crouching or with knees to chest (e.g., cat. 24, pl. 34)
6. Man with developed musculature shown frontally (fig. 2.8)
7. Youth removing or folding mantle (e.g., cat. 64, pl. 59)
8. Youth sitting on rock or pillar (e.g., cat. 87, pl. 29a; cat. 88, pl. 43a)
9. Face in three-quarter view (e.g., cat. 10B, fig. 3.6; cat. 19, pl. 16a; cat. 37, pl. 47; cat. 87, pl. 29b)
10. A type of sash, similar to a back-pinned, shoulder-long, fringed mantle, worn by women (e.g., cat. 61, pl. 13; cat. 87, pl. 29b–c; the fragment in Enserune [cat. 56] offers another example)
11. Double black stripes on the side-hem of peploi (e.g., cat. 61, pl. 13; cat. 87, pl. 29b–c)
12. Male figure with long mantle over long chiton (e.g., cat. 2, pl. 3b)
13. Male and female figures represented with shoes and sandals (e.g., cat. 2, pl. 3b; cat. 23, pl. 32a; cat. 87, pl. 29c)

Concluding this overview of the stylistic traits, iconographic repertory, and favorite motifs of the Codrus Painter and his Circle, we now turn to the secondary, nonfigurative decoration of his vases: the palmettes and tondo bands.

2.4 PALMETTES

Even though they are usually considered secondary motifs, palmettes and volutes had a strong presence in the artistic production of Athens in all media. They adorned public and private buildings, crowned grave monuments, and

embellished furniture and minor objects made of metal, stone, or clay. It was only natural that floral decoration was also used as a complementary compositional element of Attic vase paintings, and the all-too-familiar palmettes quickly found a permanent position under the handles of cups, while another motif, the meander, became a standard frame for the tondi.

Following a long-established tradition, the Codrus Painter and his Circle decorated the area under the handles of the cups with palmettes and volutes, contributing to the development of the motifs (see also sections 4.2–6). The cups by the Codrus Painter follow the tradition of Hieron in terms of both shapes and floral decoration: our painter favored large compositions with central and side palmettes, which became quite elaborate on the finest cups. A certain antefix-shaped palmette type known as the acroterion type was, according to Adrienne Lezzi-Hafter, an invention of Aison, inspired by floral motifs on oinochoai, and was popular on cups from the middle and last phases of the Codrus Painter. On the other hand, the leaves with rounded tips are a trait of the Codrus Painter.⁴

The palmettes examined here are divided into four types, with smaller variations based on style. It seems that the Codrus Painter is responsible for palmette types I and II and perhaps for type IIIa, not only because they are found on the most characteristic cups attributed to his hand, but also on account of the accuracy of the drawing, their monumental impression, and their association with palmettes decorating contemporary architecture and sculpture. The rest of the palmettes appear to have been entrusted to other painters within his workshop. For example, palmette types III and IIIb can be grouped together on account of the finesse and clarity of their drawing, probably created by the same hand responsible for the less fortunate variation, type IIIc, while types IV, IVa, and IVb represent another variation, featuring flatter palmette leaves and lacking the vivacity and elegance of the previously described forms. In general, types I–III decorate mostly vases from the early and mature phases of the Codrus Painter and some of the better-quality cups attributed to his Manner, while type IV is usually associated with vases by the Painter of Cambridge 72 and painters Near the Codrus Painter (see examples below).

Type I

The floral decoration of type I consists of two nine-leaf palmettes facing each other, flanked by side palmettes that spring forth from elaborate volutes. This type recalls the motifs decorating large vases and may be compared to palmettes found in architectural decoration.⁵ The Divine Banquet cup (cat. 3, pl. 10a–b) is the best example of this type (fig. 2.15).

Type II

The motif of type II consists of a thirteen-leaf palmette set on top of volutes and a pyramid-shaped floral motif



Figure 2.15. Palmette: type I (cat. 3, pl. 10a)

with pointed leaves (acroterion type). Another pair of volutes flanks the central composition, but there are no side palmettes. A close sculptural parallel may be found in the painted ornament of the ceiling coffers from the Propylaia.⁶ Only one cup by the Codrus Painter—the Theseus cup (cat. 16, pl. 5)—employs this type (fig. 2.16).

Type III

A large palmette with thirteen or more leaves is the central motif of type III. It is set on a tripartite stem, which is flanked by stylized volute-heads and buds. Elaborate volutes and side palmettes with the central leaf extending beyond the loop frame the core synthesis. See the Themis cup (cat. 17, pl. 8) for an example (fig. 2.17).⁷

Type IIIa

Most of the cups by the Codrus Painter and his workshop seem to favor the palmette of type IIIa, which is a more elaborate version of the floral decoration described just above. In this variation the main palmette still has thirteen or more leaves and is set on a tripartite stem, but the volute-heads and buds that frame it are more stylized. The volutes and the loop that encompasses the side palmettes are rendered in elegant elongated forms. In addition, there is a diamond-shaped element between the volutes and the beginning of the palmette. This type is best represented by



Figure 2.16. Palmette: type II (cat. 16, pl. 5b)



Figure 2.17. Palmette: type III (cat. 17, pl. 8b–c)

the Cassandra cup (cat. 19, pl. 16) and can be compared to the palmette-chain decorating the capitals and antae of the Erechtheion, dated 421–405 (fig. 2.18).⁸

Type IIIb

Type IIIb consists of a rather rounded palmette with thirteen or more leaves set on a low two-stemmed base. Plenty of leaves and volutes flank the central palmette, while the composition expands to the sides with palmettes consisting of overlapping central leaves. The result lacks the vivacity and the harmonious effect of type IIIa, but is still of good quality. Few cups by the Codrus Painter and his Circle employ this palmette-type; the Triton cup (cat. 18, pl. 14) is the most characteristic example (fig. 2.19).

Type IIIc

The last version of type III is formed by a palmette resting solely on volute-heads, with a triangular motif set directly underneath. Side palmettes still flank the central one, but they are smaller and more compact. Often the darker black line demarcating the middle leaf is absent, while a diamond-shaped element between the volutes and the birth of the palmette may be added. The leaves tend to have a square rather than a pointed tip, a characteristic that clearly separates this palmette type from the other versions of type III. The Cambridge Athletes cup (cat. 68, pl. 45) has a good example (fig. 2.20).



Figure 2.18. Palmette: type IIIa (cat. 19, pl. 16)



Figure 2.19. Palmette: type IIIb (cat. 18, pl. 14b–c)



Figure 2.20. Palmette: type IIIc (cat. 68, pl. 45b–c)



Figure 2.21. Palmette: type IVa (cat. 92, pl. 31a–b)

Type IV

Type IV is a more elaborate version of palmette type II. It consists of a palmette of the acroterion type, where the main floral motif rests on a second palmette in the shape of an acroterion or antefix. The volutes and side palmettes that frame the composition are rendered in outline, and the drawing is clear yet mannered; see, for example, the cup by the Painter of Cambridge 72 (cat. 103, pl. 75a–b).

Type IVa

The arrangement of the palmettes in type IVa follows the acroterion type, but the drawing is less successful. In more elaborate examples the central and side palmettes acquire a lot of height and can be adorned with buds and extra volutes: see the Battlefield cup (cat. 92, pl. 31) for an example (fig. 2.21).⁹

Type IVb

The central palmettes of type IVb are of the acroterion type. They are usually supported by two long volutes, and the whole composition is topped by a smaller, rounder palmette. Often the volutes and a single leaf replace the central acroterion-type palmette (e.g., cat. 105, pl. 55a–b).

Type V

The unpublished cup in Zurich (cat. 31, pl. 28a–b) does not fall into any of the previous categories, and so a separate type was formed. So far it is the only example from the Codrus Painter Circle that has decoration other than palmettes under the handles—namely rocks.

2.5 TONDO BANDS

The tondo bands decorating the cups by the Codrus Painter and his Circle usually consist of a series of meanders, rang-

Table 2.1. Tondo bands on cups by the Codrus Painter and his Circle: statistical data

Motif	Number
Black X with four dots in reserved square	2
Black X in black cross	1
Black cross in black square	8
Checkerboard (white/black/white)	16
Checkerboard (w/b/w) with dotted white squares	1
Checkerboard (w/b/w) with dotted white squares alternating with checkerboard (b/w/b)	1
Checkerboard (b/w/b)	19
Extended or abbreviated checkerboard	2
Checkerboard (b/w/b) alternating with X in black square	1
Four small dotted white squares forming cross inside black square	1
Reserved line	5

ing from three to seven, in a leftward or rightward direction, alternating with a number of squares (table 2.1 shows their variety). The most common type is the checkerboard, found predominantly on the painter's mature cups and on some vases attributed to his Circle. Lezzi-Hafter has argued that Aison preferred to blacken the corner squares, contrary to the practice of the Codrus Painter.¹⁰ The cross was preferred over the *x* for the earlier cups, and on two vases (the Erichthonios cup [cat. 2, pl. 3c] and the Theseus cup [cat. 16, pl. 5a]) the tondo pattern is repeated on the ground line of the exterior, unifying the iconographic program of the cup. In particular, the Theseus cup stands out from the rest because its interior frieze mirrors the exterior decoration. A fine ivy wreath decorates the interior of two cups by the Codrus Painter, a suitable choice for the Dionysiac compositions in the tondo (cat. 14; cat. 53, pl. 21a). The reserved line is employed in smaller cups, particularly those decorated exclusively in the tondo.¹¹ Table 2.1 shows the distribution of the motifs found on cups by the Codrus Painter and his Circle and their clear preference for certain tondo bands over others.

In this chapter I revisit four attributions to the Codrus Painter and propose different degrees of proximity to his style for these vases. In addition, a cup once in the Basel Market (cat. 107) that has been considered a work by the Codrus Painter is here disassociated from him.

3.1 THE OXFORD CHOUS

The Oxford chous (cat. 66) was ascribed by Lezzi-Hafter to the corpus of the Codrus Painter,¹ a suggestion of great importance because it is the first vase outside the category of drinking cups that has been associated with him. The chous shows a satyr named Kissos approaching a maenad in rhythmical steps. The latter, inscribed Tragoedia, is slumped on her mantle, naked and fast asleep, exhausted from the wine and dancing (fig. 3.1).

The maenad appears to share certain traits of the Codrus Painter's style, but a close inspection of the satyr's drawing raises questions about the attribution to the painter's own hand. In particular, the satyr's body-type cannot be compared to any of the satyrs by the Codrus Painter: the different rendering of anatomical details, along with the dissimilar profiles, speaks against an attribution to his hand. Compare the details from the Herakles cup (cat. 22, pl. 22) and the Cambridge cup (54, pl. 23) with the satyr from the chous (fig. 3.2).

Compared with the Codrus Painter's satyrs, the Oxford satyr has a flat chest, no abdominal delineation, a smaller waist, and different treatment of penis and kneecaps, as well as a different placement and execution of the tail. Even more striking is a comparison of the satyrs' heads. The Oxford satyr has a small, round head, a long, unkempt beard that matches the longish, wild, straight locks of his hair, and a hairline that recedes all the way to his ears; all these traits are foreign to the Codrus Painter's satyrs, with

their short, wavy hair and nicely trimmed beards. The rendering of the ears is also telling, as the Oxford satyr has relatively large ears that point backward, while the Codrus Painter's have smaller ones pointing forward.

Even though the chous cannot be ascribed to the Codrus Painter himself, there is enough evidence to support an association with his style. The Oxford satyr's pose, identifiable perhaps as the *sikinnis* dance, is very similar to that of the satyrs on the Herakles and Cambridge cups, who walk or dance with one knee up. Similarly, the gesture of *apokopeuein* (looking afar) brings the Oxford satyr very close to the satyrs of the Cambridge cup (pl. 23b), while the maenad is reminiscent of the Codrus Painter's athletes and even of Herakles from the homonymous cup (pl. 22b–c).² The painter of the Oxford chous used more or less the same conventions for drawing the maenad that the Codrus Painter used for numerous youths and athletes: e.g., the partition of the abdominals, the heavy chin, and her locks of long, fine hair. Only the awkwardly placed breasts and the pubic hair indicate that this is a female figure. For these reasons I suggest that the Oxford chous should be attributed to the Manner of the Codrus Painter and not to his own hand.

Last, the iconography of the chous merits a comment. The very subject of the vase, a satyr with sexual intentions trying to surprise a sleeping maenad, combined with his performance of the *sikinnis* dance, led Lezzi-Hafter to suggest a reading of the scene as a parody of the *hieros gamos* of Dionysos and Basilinna.³ By naming the maenad Tragoedia and representing her as unconscious, vulnerable, and naked in close proximity to a satyr, the painter creates an episode based on a popular image from the Dionysiac cycle but enriched with theatrical and religious connotations, as the teasing, playful atmosphere is very similar to that of satyr plays.



Figure 3.1. The Oxford chous (cat. 66) (courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford [V53])

3.2 THE DRESDEN CUP

A stemless cup housed today in the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Albertinum in Dresden (cat. 71) was originally attributed by Beazley to the hand of the Codrus Painter.⁴ Each exterior side depicts a palaestra scene of four youths, nude and draped, while the tondo shows two athletes in conversation. Even though the subject of the cup and the paratactic arrangement of the figures are very much in the spirit of the Codrus Painter (cf. the athletes on the Ferrara cup: cat. 36, pl. 57a–c), a study of their drawing argues

against an attribution of the cup to the Codrus Painter himself (fig. 3.3).

The facial features recall characteristics of the Codrus Painter's youths, but certain traits are alien to his style (see details, figs. 2.1, 2.3): for example, the lower eyelid is accentuated by a darker relief line, while the lower lip has a distinct protrusion. The musculature is outlined by a generous amount of diluted glaze, as in other figures attributed to the Codrus Painter, but details such as the contour of the neck bones differ: an uninterrupted zigzag line indicates the clavicle and the shoulder, a feature never before encountered in the Codrus Painter's work. Additionally, the proportions of the bodies are not harmonious, as the lower body is shorter than the torso. Frontal views of the athletes are quite impressive, thanks to the excessive delineation of the abdomen, in contrast to the Codrus Painter's moderate fashion, while the profiles of torsos show deep curvature of the spine. On the basis of these observations, I think that it is better to attribute the cup to the Manner of the Codrus Painter, with influences from the Eretria Painter,⁵ rather than to the hand of the Codrus Painter himself.

3.3 THE CAPE TOWN CUP

The Cape Town Cup (cat. 72) is similar to the Dresden cup in terms of both shape and iconography, the only difference being the absence of tondo decoration. One side of the exterior depicts a pair of wrestlers in starting positions, flanked by a bearded male in a long himation and a youth leaning on a stick. The bearded man must be their trainer, as he carries the forked staff typical of that role. The other side shows again a pair of wrestlers about to attack one another and two older, bearded men, draped in mantles, having a conversation (fig. 3.4).⁶

The cup was ascribed by Beazley and Boardman to the hand of the Codrus Painter,⁷ but a closer inspection of the drawing and the motifs illustrated raises questions about

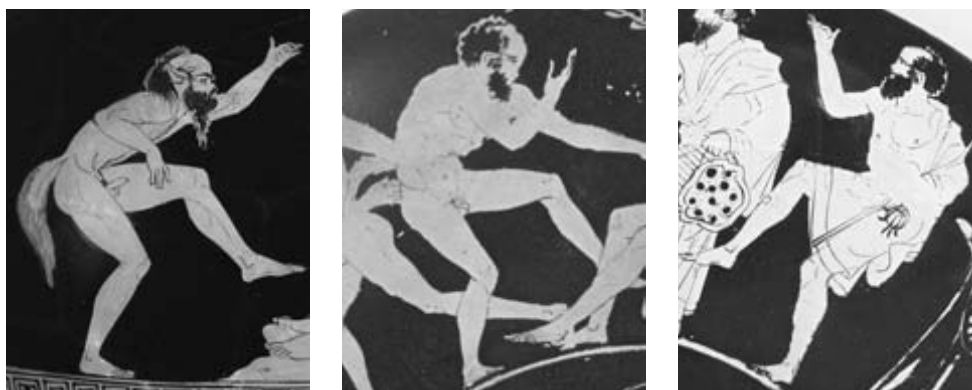


Figure 3.2. Satyrs: details of the Oxford chous (cat. 66), the Herakles cup (cat. 22, pl. 22b), the Cambridge cup (cat. 54, pl. 23b)



Figure 3.3. The Dresden cup (cat. 71) (courtesy of the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Albertinum)



Figure 3.4. The Cape Town cup (cat. 72) (courtesy of Iziko Museums, Cape Town)

this attribution. The bearded figures can hardly be compared to the ones by the Codrus Painter. Compare the Erichthonios cup (cat. 2, pl. 3a–c) and the Divine Banquet cup (cat. 3, pl. 10a–c); the proportions of the figures on the Cape Town cup are more square, the folds of their drapery are foreign to the painter's style, and their facial features are only vaguely reminiscent of his profiles. For example, the Cape Town figures have larger foreheads and bigger, rounder noses, while their eyes are placed closer to the ear and the beards have a rounder, fuller shape. The athletes' limbs are short in relation to the torso; their buttocks are fuller; and the treatment of the abdomen is less detailed. In addition, the kneecap is round and protruding, in contrast to the diamond-shaped contour of the Codrus Painter. For these reasons I suggest that the Cape Town cup be removed from the list of vases attributed to the Codrus Painter himself and instead ascribed to a painter Near him.

3.4 THE CAMBRIDGE ATHLETES CUP

I consider the Cambridge Athletes cup (cat. 68, pl. 45), along with the Richmond cup (cat. 69, pl. 54) and the Chapel Hill cup (cat. 70, pl. 53), the work of a painter in the Manner of the Codrus Painter. In particular, the Cambridge Athletes cup was initially attributed to the Codrus Painter,⁸ but it seems more appropriate to recognize the hand of an apprentice or follower instead. The cup depicts palaistra scenes on the exterior and the interior: three youths on each side and one in the tondo are shown throwing the diskos and the javelin, holding *halteres* and strigils, or simply standing next to their fellow athletes. They are set in a combination of striking poses, with innovative use of foreshortening (see the javelin-thrower's left hand) and typical figure-types with one hand extended forward and the other falling freely by the side (fig. 3.5).

The Codrus Painter is known for both the use of stock body-types and the sculptural qualities of his figures, and

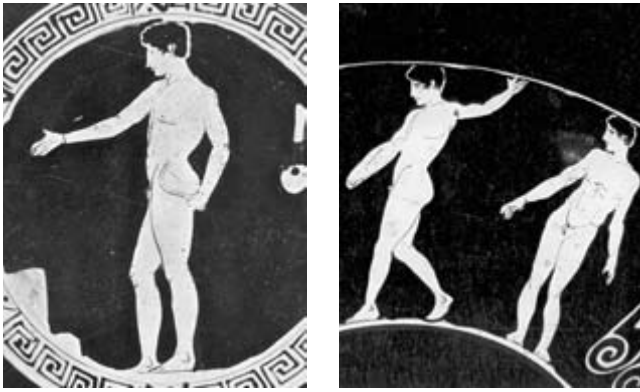


Figure 3.5. Details of the Cambridge Athletes cup (cat. 68, pl. 45a, c)

one would attribute this cup to his hand were it not for certain stylistic discrepancies in the rendering of anatomical details. The torso delineation differs from the typical treatment of the Codrus Painter (see here fig. 2.8), as there are fewer dilute-glaze lines, more use of the double line for the *linea alba*, and different drawing of the bone structure. The kneecap is close to the Codrus Painter's standards, as are the heads of the athletes on side B (the one with the diskos-thrower), but the rest of the figures are distant from his style (see here figs. 2.3, 2.7). Perhaps he worked in haste when drawing this cup and did not consider it necessary to produce a detailed depiction of all the athletes, or maybe the cup was started by the Codrus Painter and finished by an apprentice. In any case, the Fitzwilliam cup is stylistically closer to the Richmond and Chapel Hill cups than to vases attributed with certainty to the hand of the Codrus Painter, and for these reasons it seems more appropriate to ascribe it to his Manner.⁹

3.5 THE TIMANDRA FRAGMENTS

To be examined in chapter 8, the fragmentary Astarita cup (cat. 10A, pl. 17) forms an intriguing puzzle not only in terms of iconography, but also in terms of attribution.¹⁰ To the initial four fragments attributed to our painter by Beazley, Alan Shapiro associated at a later point two more,¹¹ called here for brevity the Timandra fragments (cat. 10B). They depict three female heads, two in spectacular three-quarter views and a third in profile, badly preserved. One name survives: Timandra, daughter of Tyndareos and Leda, while the letters "Ε Σ" are still visible on the second fragment. Two women wear a patterned band on their hair; Timandra is dressed in peplos and mantle, while the woman next to her seems to wear only a peplos. After personally studying all the pieces (i.e., the Astarita cup and the Timandra fragments), I have concluded that the latter belong to a different kylix because their rim and walls are thinner than the rest. However, the question of whether



Figure 3.6. The Timandra fragments (cat. 10B) (courtesy of Musei Vaticani)

they too should be attributed to the Codrus Painter remains open.

The drawing of the figures is of high quality, and in some traits one recognizes the Codrus Painter's hand: for example, the depiction of the ear and eye, the placement of the iris in the middle of the upper eyelid, the heavy chin, the bulky necks, and the serious expressions (fig. 3.6). What is unusual for our painter, however, is the curly hair, of which almost every lock is drawn separately; the small size of the knot and its placement higher on the nape are uncommon for the Codrus Painter, although it does recall the hair of Cassandra on the homonymous cup (cat. 19, pl. 16a). The small yet voluptuous lips also make one wonder if they were made by our painter's hand, as he tends to favor rather elongated, flat lips (e.g., the Xenon cup, cat. 37, pl. 47: however, one should note that the closest example we have by the Codrus Painter is the face of a wrestler, whose lips are in full tension and thus conveying a different expression). Despite these minor reservations, the accuracy of drawing, the use of inscriptions, and the undeniable proximity to the Codrus Painter's style all support an attribution of the Timandra fragments to his hand.

3.6 THE CUP ONCE IN THE BASEL MARKET

This fragmentary cup (cat. 107) was attributed by Wilhelm Hornbostel to the Codrus Painter,¹² but its style and subject contradict this attribution. The tondo shows a woman



Figure 3.7. The cup once in the Basel Market (cat. 107): to be disassociated from the Codrus Painter (after Hornbostel 1977, 331, no. 283)

seated in a chair and facing a winged Eros, who crouches in front of her and opens his left hand in a conversational gesture (fig. 3.7). An erotic element pervades the inner frieze of Erotes chasing youths. The Codrus Painter is mostly fond of athletic representations and departure scenes, and to my knowledge no other preserved depictions of Erotes or episodes with Aphrodite can be attributed to his hand. He rarely depicts amorous pursuits or even winged figures

other than Nike (see, respectively, the Erichthonios cup [cat. 2, pl. 3c]: the rape of Kephalos by a winged Eos; and the Louvre Nike cup [cat. 23, pl. 32a]: Nike crowning an athlete). Therefore, the subject of this cup is rather foreign to his repertory.

The rendering of the male body shares nothing with the style of the Codrus Painter; compare, for example, the bulky torsos and the sturdy thighs of the Erotes to the well-proportioned and toned bodies of the Codrus Painter's athletes. The delineation of the torso is also uncommon for our painter: a straight line for the ribs branches out to two hasty lines for the depiction of shoulders and groin, while there seems to be no use of diluted clay in detailing the abdomen (cf. here fig. 2.8). The profile is also different, as far as one can tell from the only published picture of the vase. Eros' nose is protruding, creating a sharp profile; the lips are half open; and the chin has a rather square curve. All of these features are rare for the Codrus Painter. The treatment of hair is also different, with numerous locks falling loosely on Eros' neck but none around his ears, again a trait foreign to the style of our painter (cf. here figs. 2.1, 2.3, 2.4). Last, Eros' short wings have nothing in common with the long, elegant, multileveled wings of Nike as depicted on the Louvre Nike cup (cat. 23, pl. 32a). For all these reasons I suggest that we disassociate this cup from the Codrus Painter and his Circle.

Table 3.1 summarizes the conclusions of this chapter.

Table 3.1. New attributions to and disassociations from the corpus of the Codrus Painter

Vase	Beazley's catalogues	Previous Attribution	Present Attribution
Oxford chous (cat. 66)	ARV ² 1258.1	Codrus Painter (Lezzi-Hafter)	Manner of Codrus Painter
Dresden Cup (cat. 71)	ARV ² 1271.33	Codrus Painter (Beazley)	Manner of Codrus Painter
Cape Town Cup (cat. 72)	ARV ² 1272.46	Codrus Painter (Beazley; Boardman and Pope)	Near Codrus Painter
Cambridge Athletes Cup (cat. 68)	ARV ² 1271.34	Codrus Painter (Beazley)	Manner of Codrus Painter
Timandra Fragments (cat. 10B)	ARV ² 1269.6	Codrus Painter (Beazley, Shapiro)	Perhaps by Codrus Painter; does <i>not</i> belong to same cup as Astarita fragments (cat. 10A)
Cup Once in the Basel Market (cat. 107)	not applicable	Codrus Painter (Hornbostel)	Disassociate from Codrus Painter and Circle; perhaps near Penthesilea Painter

4.1 SHAPES

Because the present study concentrates on matters of iconography and reception, here I offer only an overview of shapes decorated by the Codrus Painter and his Circle. Lezzi-Hafter has examined the traditions behind the pottery workshop of the Eretria Painter and his Circle (the EKDN workshop) and used as comparanda cups by the Codrus Painter. She concludes that the EKDN workshop followed the traditions of both Hieron and Brygos, an observation that explains the differences within the workshop, while the Codrus Painter's type B and C cups followed mostly the tradition of Hieron.¹

The Codrus Painter specialized in drinking cups. Most of the kylikes attributed to his hand are of type B, including the fine, large cups of his first and second phases (440–430 and 430–420 BCE): for example, the Codrus cup (cat. 1, pl. 1), the Erichthonios cup (cat. 2, pl. 3), the Divine Banquet cup (cat. 3, pl. 10), the Theseus cup (cat. 16, pl. 5), and the Apodyterion cup (cat. 24, pl. 34), whose diameters measure up to 33 cm. Sometime around 430 some smaller type B kylikes appear, with diameters around 28 cm (e.g., the Herakles cup, cat. 22, pl. 22), and they continue to appear during the last phase of his career (e.g., the Cambridge cup, cat. 54, pl. 23).² One of the last type B cups following the tradition of Hieron is the Dionysos cup in Würzburg (cat. 53, pl. 21),³ which reaches a diameter of 34.2 cm and remains nearly unparalleled for the third phase, ca. 420 (cf. the much smaller Copenhagen cup, cat. 58, pl. 46). The Ceglie cup (cat. 63, pl. 61), one of the few type C cups attributed to the Codrus Painter, is dated about a decade later, ca. 420/410. It is interesting to note

that neither cup type—B or C—changes its profile during the thirty or forty years of the Codrus Painter's activity,⁴ while another type of kylix, type E, is represented in his work by two unpublished fragments in Basel (cat. 14) and the Louvre Athletes cup (cat. 30, pl. 58).⁵

The Circle of the Codrus Painter continued to decorate drinking cups almost exclusively during the last thirty to forty years of the fifth century, but these type B kylikes are smaller: for example, the Chapel Hill cup (cat. 70, pl. 53) is 28 cm in diameter, while the Richmond cup (cat. 69, pl. 54) is even smaller, about 23 cm. The large type B kylikes made their comeback around 420 with the painter of the ex-Charterhouse cup (cat. 94, pl. 30) and the Hermitage Torch Race cup (cat. 105, pl. 55). Few stemless cups are attributed to the Manner of the Codrus Painter (e.g., the Dresden cup [cat. 71, fig. 3.3] and the Cape Town cup [cat. 72, fig. 3.4]), while two more are assigned to a painter between Aison and the Codrus Painter (cat. 87, pl. 29; cat. 88, pl. 43).

New shapes are rarely introduced into the Codrus Painter's work, and this is why the attribution of the Oxford chous is important: assigned to the Codrus Painter's Manner, the chous is of great significance because for the first time our painter's workshop is associated with a vase other than a drinking cup, suggesting an intricate nexus between workshops specializing in different types of pottery. A pair of stemmed plates produced by the Painter of Cambridge 72 introduce another interesting shape (cat. 101, pl. 77; cat. 102, pl. 74). This type of plate belongs to the Class of Naples 2618; it was manufactured primarily for export during the 430s and sent almost exclusively to Italy. The high stem of the plate indicates the influence of the type B cup.⁶

4.2 STYLISTIC AND CHRONOLOGICAL ARRANGEMENT OF THE VASES

Phase I, 440–430 BCE (cat. 1–14)

The years between the Peace of Kallias (449 BCE) and the beginning of the Peloponnesian War (431) were a flourishing period for the economy and the arts of Athens, which under Pericles' government became the leading power in Greece. With the glorious memories of the Persian Wars still fresh and the struggle against Sparta imminent, the city's politicians and artists employed every means to promote Athenian ideals—both to boost the morale of the people and to demonstrate patriotism and belief in Athenian supremacy. The early phase of the Codrus Painter coincided with this period, and his early cups are decorated with episodes inspired mainly by Athenian mythology or with departure scenes involving local heroes and legendary warriors. All these themes are in accordance with the spirit of the years before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War.

During the painter's first phase, the exteriors of his cups display groups of five figures, while two interacting characters usually occupy the tondo. The band in the tondo is often decorated with a cross or a checkerboard in a square that alternates with meanders. In a couple of cases the same pattern is used as the ground line on the exterior of the cup, instead of the traditional reserved line. Despite the generally uninterrupted parataxis of the figures, the drawing is lively and precise, and the decorative themes are quite original.

Three of the Codrus Painter's finest cups—his name-piece, the Codrus cup (cat. 1, pl. 1), the Erichthonios cup in Berlin (cat. 2, pl. 3), and the Divine Banquet cup in London (cat. 3, pl. 10)—are decorated with mythological subjects. The protagonists are divided into teams of two or three, and the members of each group are engaged in conversation or preparing a libation. Most figures are drawn in great detail and can be identified by inscriptions. These cups also share the same type of palmettes, and two of the three display the same tondo pattern as well. The same stylistic traits are found on the decoration of the Acropolis cup (cat. 7, pl. 4), the Astarita fragments (cat. 10A, pl. 17), and the Tampa cup (cat. 11, pl. 18).

The warrior on a fragmentary cup in New York (cat. 5, pl. 24) is very close to the figure of Theseus depicted on the Codrus cup, while a nearly mirror image is found on a cup in Tübingen (cat. 6, pl. 25). Despite the lack of inscriptions on the two cups, which prevents us from associating the scenes with mythological episodes, the New York and Tübingen fragments should be placed among the early works of the Codrus Painter on account of stylistic similarities and figure-types shared with complete works. Judging from the fragments' size, there must have been five figures depicted on each exterior side, a number that follows the

pattern of the painter's early, refined cups. The cup in Altenburg (cat. 12, pl. 27), although overpainted, happens to preserve a single original figure that is similar to the male figures of the Codrus cup, and therefore suggests a placement of the Altenburg cup in our painter's early phase.

Characteristic elements of his early production include the preference for mythological subjects over athletic scenes and the large number of figures per side. The Phrixos cup in Florence (cat. 4, pl. 15) shows these traits, but it also requires special attention, since it can be associated with the Codrus cup in particular.⁷ Not only do both vases depict departure scenes, but they also share specific iconographic elements such as female figure-types.⁸ However, the drawing on the Phrixos cup is more mature and expressive than that on the Codrus cup.

Despite their fragmentary state, the Astarita cup (cat. 10A, pl. 17) and the Tampa cup (cat. 11, pl. 18) convey most gracefully the eloquence and precision of the Codrus Painter's drawing.⁹ Another fragmentary kylix, known as the Montereppi cup (cat. 8, pl. 26), is also dated to the first period of the Codrus Painter's production, even though its drawing recalls the decoration of the Triton cup (cat. 18, pl. 14) from the second phase. Because of stylistic similarities with the Montereppi cup, the Seesaw cup (cat. 9, pl. 72) should also be dated to the first phase. The transition from phase I to phase II is marked by a fragmentary cup in Basel (cat. 14) that preserves parts of a satyr and the head of maenad. Even though it introduces a new subject inspired by the world of Dionysos and unrelated to Attic patriotic legends, the drawing is still not quite ripe and betrays similarities to the Divine Banquet cup.¹⁰

Phase II, ca. 430–420 BCE (cat. 15–52)

The second phase consists of vases produced during the peak of the Codrus Painter's career, around 430. Subjects involving gods and heroes are still part of his repertory, while more Dionysiac episodes begin to make their appearance. Even though representations of warriors continue to enjoy some popularity in this phase, it becomes clear from the large number of athletic scenes that the Codrus Painter has developed a keen interest in the nude male body and the illustration of sports. His athletic scenes gained great popularity among his followers and became the trademark of his workshop. The focus on athletic competitions can be perceived as an attempt to marginalize the warlike atmosphere of the period or, on the contrary, as an attempt to assimilate the struggle for athletic victory to a victorious outcome on the battlefield.

A vase that clearly stands apart from other works of the Codrus Painter is the Theseus cycle cup, which depicts on both its exterior and interior a frieze of the deeds of the Athenian hero (cat. 16, pl. 5a–b). Compared with the Codrus cup and the Erichthonios cup, this kylix demonstrates

more complex iconographic elements. Two or three figures intertwine, circulating in space and often overlapping. The Codrus Painter was a master of the male body. His drawing skill allowed him to experiment with various positions and viewpoints and to play with intricate arrangements of the figures. Sometimes they are so close together that one needs to observe the outline carefully to grasp the pose, as, for example, in the pairing of Theseus and Kerkyon; on other occasions he lets his figures breathe by emphasizing their axis and geometric structure, as in Theseus' confrontations with Sinis or with the Bull. The most impressive and distinguishing feature of the Theseus cup, however, is the addition of an interior frieze that mirrors the exterior composition, following the example of the magnificent cup by the Penthesilea Painter from Spina.¹¹ The originality of the Theseus cup is further enhanced by the introduction of a new type of palmette decoration occupying the space under the handles.

The tendency toward more elaborate compositions seen here is also reflected on the Themis cup in Berlin (cat. 17, pl. 8), a vase that provides stylistic and iconographic links between the first and second phases. The exterior depicts two different hunting scenes that share the vigor and tension of the Theseus cup. The animals are depicted in detail, with expressive features and a careful rendering of their musculature and skin. On each side four hunters surround an animal, which constitutes the last figure of the characteristic five-per-side arrangement of the Codrus Painter's early cups. The tondo depicts Themis and Aigeus, a scene that resembles the interior of the Codrus cup (cat. 1, pl. 1a), while the drawing of the heads on the Themis cup is very similar to that on the Divine Banquet cup (cat. 3, pl. 10a–c). Quite impressive is the floral decoration, which consists of an elaborate handle palmette flanked by volutes and side palmettes with rich leaves and buds.

The Basel cup (cat. 15, pl. 9a–c) is an interesting example of the second phase, as its drawing anticipates the athletes of the Apodyterion cup (cat. 24, pl. 34; and see below in this chapter), and at the same time it recalls the figure-types of the Theseus cup (cat. 16, pl. 5a–b). Even though it is in fragmentary condition, the Brauron cup (cat. 20, pl. 11) is associated on grounds of style and composition with the Basel cup, but also with the earlier Erichthonios cup (cat. 2, pl. 3), and is thus dated to the early 430s.¹²

Another important vase is the Triton cup (cat. 18, pl. 14), key representative of the last set of early vases by the Codrus Painter. The Triton cup takes its name from the depiction of Triton and Poseidon in its tondo; the exterior shows a departure scene, one of the Codrus Painter's favorite subjects. The figures are left unnamed and are more static than those on the Codrus cup, displaying more affinities with the figures on the Cassandra cup in the Louvre (cat. 19, pl. 16a–c).¹³ The paintings on the latter bring together two

different moods: the tranquility of the composition on the exterior and the tension of the tondo scene. The expressive head of the protagonist, Cassandra, can be compared to the female heads of the Timandra fragments from phase I (cat. 10A, pl. 17; and see p. 20).

When we turn to Dionysiac subjects, the only two examples from this period are the fragmentary cup in Tarquinia (cat. 21, pl. 20) and the Herakles cup in Ferrara, which shows satyrs stealing the hero's arms (cat. 22, pl. 22). The drawing recalls early works of the Codrus Painter; for example, the satyr in the tondo has the same musculature and stance as the figures on the New York and Tübingen fragments from phase I (cat. 5, pl. 24; cat. 6, pl. 25), while the palmette decoration is closer to that of the Cassandra cup (cat. 19, pl. 16).¹⁴ The satyrs on the exterior of the Herakles cup are depicted in various positions, with gestures and dancing moves that require a lot of space, a fact that explains the limitation of the exterior figures to four on each side.

Another group of vases from phase II consists mainly of cups decorated with palaistra scenes and departures of warriors. One of the best examples of this group is the Nike cup in the Louvre, named after the striking winged Victory depicted crowning an athlete in the tondo (cat. 23, pl. 32).¹⁵ A similar scene is illustrated on the Ampurias Nike cup (cat. 29, pl. 33). From the same period comes a remarkable kylix known as the Apodyterion cup (cat. 24, pl. 34) that clearly stands out among the numerous athletic scenes by the Codrus Painter. On one side is a generic representation of athletes with strigils, but the other side shows an extraordinary scene of athletes bathing, washing their hair, and cleaning their bodies next to a basin (*louterion*). As it is usually women who are depicted bathing or swimming, such a representation may strike us as rare. However, it may very well be preservation bias that has caused this unbalanced picture.¹⁶ The expressive features and detailed anatomy of the figures on the Apodyterion cup reveal a deep study of the male body. The precision of the drawing and the quality of the composition recall earlier cups: note, for example, the resemblance of the figure behind the *louterion* to the youthful Ganymede on the Divine Banquet cup (cat. 3, pl. 10a). An unpublished cup currently housed in the Louvre (cat. 30, pl. 58) depicts an athletic scene that shares similar figure-types with cups from phases I and II¹⁷ but lacks the vigor of the Apodyterion cup. As a side note, the fragmentary cup in Florence (cat. 32, pl. 36) shares a common body-type with the Apodyterion cup: a crouching youth.

Other typical examples of the stock poses used by the Codrus Painter are found on vases such as the Basel Athletes cup (cat. 25, pl. 40), the Castelvenera cup (cat. 26, pl. 41), and possibly the Sydney cup (cat. 27). The accurate drawing and plasticity of the figures suggest a date of around 430.¹⁸

Even though cups of this phase still preserve elements from early works of the Codrus Painter, the original arrangement of five figures on each exterior side and two in the tondo is slowly reduced to three figures on each side and only one in the interior. For example, the Ferrara Athletes cup (cat. 36, pl. 57) depicts in the tondo a youth in front of an altar and on the exterior a palaistra scene.¹⁹

A similar arrangement is found on the Xenon cup in the British Museum (cat. 37, pl. 47), which is decorated with palaistra scenes. The cup is of special interest because it happens to bear the only ascertained kalos inscription by the Codrus Painter: "Xenon kalos."²⁰ A comparison with the athletes on the Apodyterion cup shows an overall lack of detailed musculature and accuracy of drawing. However, the grip of the athlete holding his opponent up in the air is a refreshing motif that spices up the composition and demonstrates the Codrus Painter's skill in transferring to clay the tension of the game. The three-quarter view of the face of the lifted athlete, and the effort of his opponent to overthrow him, are magnificently captured in this scene.

During the same period a number of vases with athletic scenes were produced, some of better quality than others. The best examples include the British Museum Athletes cup (cat. 44, pl. 48), the Brussels cup (cat. 45, pl. 50), the Todi cup (cat. 46, pl. 49),²¹ and the fragmentary cups from Ampurias (cat. 41, pl. 38; cat. 43, pl. 51; cat. 48, pl. 68).

Phase III, ca. 420–410 BCE (cat. 53–65)

Vases decorated with scenes from the Dionysiac realm form the most significant group of phase III. Their iconography includes depictions of thiasoi of satyrs and maenads and scenes associated with satyr plays. Even the Oxford chous, a shape closely related to Dionysos, dates from this period (cat. 66, fig. 3.1), although I attribute it to the Manner of the Codrus Painter and not to his own hand.²²

The Dionysos cup in Würzburg holds a unique place among the works of the Codrus Painter in terms of compositional arrangement, since the fifteen figures of its narrative decoration are equally distributed between the interior of the vase and the two sides of the exterior (cat. 53, pl. 21). The exterior depicts followers of Dionysos who are identified with inscriptions, while the tondo preserves a rare gathering of five figures: Dionysos, Ariadne, and three personifications. The drawing recalls the fine design of the Divine Banquet cup (cat. 3, pl. 10), but the palmettes under the handles follow the tradition of the floral decoration on the Triton cup in Ferrara (cat. 18, pl. 14). A remarkable ivy band encircles the tondo composition, a feature found only once more in the work of the Codrus Painter (cat. 14), while the decorative meander zone has a checkerboard pattern. From the same period comes the Cambridge cup (cat. 54, pl. 23), whose exterior depicts a group of satyrs

following a young man, while the tondo contains an Amazon. It has been associated with a satyr play.²³

With regard to palaistra scenes, the most characteristic illustrations of this period include the Villa Giulia cup (cat. 46, pl. 49), the cup in Ceglie (cat. 63, pl. 61),²⁴ two cups in Copenhagen (cat. 58, pl. 46; cat. 64, pl. 59), and the cup in the Duke collection (cat. 65, pl. 62). The quality of drawing on these vases is still good, but not as precise as in earlier examples. What they lack in accuracy, however, they win back in variety: numerous innovative poses of athletes performing sports or standing by their trainers compensate for the loss of vigorous and detailed drawing.

4.3 THE CIRCLE OF THE CODRUS PAINTER, 440–420/410 BCE

The term "Circle" describes painters Near the Codrus Painter, such as the Painter of Cambridge 72, the Painter of London E106 and E113, and painters of cups labeled by Beazley as in his "Manner" and "between the Codrus Painter and Aison." The first two painters are considered close followers of the Codrus Painter.²⁵ (The differences between the distinctive traits of the Codrus Painter and those of the painters of his Circle are discussed in sections 2.1–3 above.)

4.4 MANNER OF THE CODRUS PAINTER, 440–420/410 BCE (CAT. 66–86)

Two vases that are close to the style of the Codrus Painter but cannot be attributed with certainty to his own hand are dated around 440–430: the Oxford chous (cat. 66, fig. 3.1; see pp. 17–18), and the cup in Florence (cat. 67, pl. 44a–b). An even larger number of cups, both stemmed and stemless, attributed here to the Codrus Painter's Manner date between 430 and 420/410 BCE. With the exception of a fragmentary depiction of a hunter (cat. 74), all these vases are decorated with athletic scenes. In addition, an examination of the Dresden and Cape Town cups suggests that we should attribute them to the Manner of the Codrus Painter (see pp. 18–19), while the study of the Chapel Hill cup (cat. 70, pl. 53a–c) revealed affinities with the style of Aison. The illustration of an archer in the tondo is so far unique for the Codrus Painter and his Circle and may suggest an influence from outside the workshop. The wrestlers depicted on the exterior of the Chapel Hill cup recall the athletes on the Cambridge Athletes cup (cat. 68, pl. 45a–c), which I consider a work in the Manner of the Codrus Painter and not from his own hand (see pp. 19–20).

Similar in arrangement but inferior in quality is the cup in Richmond (cat. 69, pl. 54), attributed to the Manner of the Codrus Painter on account of its bulky athletes and the different formation of the belly and the clavicle, as well as a much more protruding spine.

4.5 COMPARE TO THE CODRUS PAINTER AND AISON, 430–420 BCE

The attribution of some cups (cats. 87–91) produced in the late 430s and early 420s by either the Codrus Painter or his contemporary, Aison, is very challenging.²⁶ The case of the stemless cup from Naples (cat. 87, pl. 29) demonstrates well the complexity of this issue. Beazley attributed it to a hand between the Codrus Painter and Aison, but I think that the influence of the Codrus Painter is evident in the setting of the figures, especially in the tondo, and in the choice of subject, a libation scene, one of the trademarks of his repertoire. The drawing of the warriors recalls the musculature of the athletes on the cup in the Louvre (cat. 30), while the unexpected three-quarter view of the hoplite drinking from the phiale suggests a closer relationship to the Codrus Painter than to Aison.²⁷ An impressively bold feature is the depiction of the warrior in a rare three-quarter view sitting on a rock, remarkably foreshortened.²⁸ The fine strokes of clay delineating the rocky landscape bring to mind descriptions of monumental paintings that praise the abandonment of the ground line for a more realistic background, such as Pliny's account (*NH* 35.59) of a painting by Polygnotos on view in Rome.²⁹ On a final note, the depiction of the couple in the tondo of the Naples cup largely imitates the tondo scene of the Basel cup (cat. 15, pl. 9a).

Similarly, the style of the cups from Cumae (cat. 89, pl. 60), Spina (cat. 90, pl. 69), and Falerii (cat. 91) appears to be closer to the Codrus Painter but not distinctly enough to be assigned with certainty to his own hand.³⁰ On the other hand, the cup in Berlin (cat. 88, pl. 43) seems to depend more on early works of Aison, rather than the Codrus Painter (cf. Aison's namepiece in Madrid, pl. 7).

4.6 NEAR THE CODRUS PAINTER, 430–420 BCE

I would attribute four cups (cat. 92, pl. 31; cat. 93, pl. 19; cat. 94, pl. 30; cat. 95, pl. 56) and two fragments (cat. 96, pl. 70; cat. 97, pl. 71) to a style Near the Codrus Painter, but more distant than that of the vases ascribed to his Manner. Two of these vases, the Battlefield cup (cat. 92) and the ex-Charterhouse cup (cat. 94), were grouped together by Beazley, even though their drawing is quite distinct. The Battlefield cup still preserves some of the qualities of the Codrus Painter's style (with some influence from the Circle of the Eretria Painter), but the rendering of the musculature is not always successful, even though the weakness is often camouflaged by the bold poses of the figures and the tension of the scenes.

The ex-Charterhouse cup (cat. 94, pl. 30) follows the paratactic arrangement of the Codrus Painter, although the figures are much curvier and stockier, and in less attractive poses. The painter may be using prototypes by the Codrus Painter, but his figures lack the vivacity and the liveliness of the master's drawing. It is interesting to note that there are

distinct affinities between the ex-Charterhouse cup and the cups by the Marlay Painter, as revealed by a comparison of the figures' profiles; this observation strengthens the suggestion, also supported by Lezzi-Hafter, that the painters from the Circle of the Marlay Painter were pupils of the Codrus Painter, working, however, for a Penthesilean workshop.³¹

The cup once in the London Market and now in a private collection in Geneva should also be attributed to a painter Near the Codrus Painter (cat. 95, pl. 56), since the drawing and the arrangement of figures only vaguely recall the Ceglie cup (cat. 63, pl. 61). The last vase of this group is the fragmentary cup from the Campana Collection with the representation of an Amazonomachy (cat. 93, pl. 19), attributed by Beazley to the Circle of the Codrus Painter because of the resemblance of the palmettes to the ones by him, as well as the general style.³²

4.7 THE PAINTER OF CAMBRIDGE 72

The Painter of Cambridge 72 is one of the most distinctive followers of the Codrus Painter. His namepiece was found in Vulci and depicts an athlete in the tondo and three more athletes on each exterior side (cat. 98, pl. 73).³³ Two more cups and two stemmed plates are also attributed by Beazley to his hand (cat. 99; cat. 100; cat. 101, pl. 77; cat. 102), while the cups in Greifswald and Ghent (cat. 103, pl. 75; cat. 104, pl. 76) can be associated with the Codrus Painter: despite their rather hasty drawing, their compositions echo the athletes of the kylix in Florence (cat. 32, pl. 36). The vases by the Painter of Cambridge 72 distinctly recall the athletic scenes by the Codrus Painter, especially the paratactic setting of the figures, which clearly follows earlier models by the leading painter. However, judging from the Painter of Cambridge 72's namepiece, his drawing is less accurate than the Codrus Painter's, and the arrangement of the scenes is rather lifeless and conventional. This heavy design is visible even in the palmette decoration under the handles. The cups in Greifswald and Ghent are even more distant from the animated compositions of the Codrus Painter: the drawing is stiff, and the figures are dwarfed by the monstrous palmettes, with little, if any, interaction between them. The lack of originality is clearly manifested in the application of nearly identical scenes on both exterior sides. However, the cup in Ghent can be quite instructive, as it combines the "hands" of two painters, one responsible for the palmettes, which are very similar to, if not the same as, those found on the Greifswald cup, and another one for the figure-types, distinctly closer to the style of the Codrus Painter.³⁴

Two more painters from the Circle of the Codrus Painter invite commentary. The Painter of London 113 produced only stemless cups decorated exclusively in the tondo.³⁵ His kylix in Florence (cat. 106, pl. 78) is a good example of

his relationship to the Codrus Painter, as the athlete illustrated in the interior recalls both the drawing and the pose of figure-types commonly found in the work of the Codrus Painter and vases in his Manner (cf. the Ferrara Athletes cup [cat. 36, pl. 57], the Basel athletes cup [cat. 25, pl. 40], and the Cambridge Athletes cup [cat. 68, pl. 45]).

The cup in the Hermitage (cat. 105, pl. 55) was attributed by Beazley to the Painter of London E106, the leader of the Sub-Meidian Group,³⁶ based on the proximity of the exterior figures to the Manner of the Codrus Painter: compare the youths' musculature to that of the athletes on the Cambridge Athletes cup (cat. 68, pl. 45) and the ex-Charterhouse cup (cat. 94, pl. 30). On the other hand, some

figure-types are directly copied from earlier works by the Codrus Painter; for example, the pose of the youth lifting his right hand is nearly identical to that of Alkmaion on the Basel cup (cat. 15, pl. 9c) and the central figure on the Basel Athletes cup (cat. 25, pl. 40a).

Lastly, as noted above (section 3.6), the cup once in the Basel market (cat. 107)³⁷ should be disassociated from the Circle of the Codrus Painter. Even if one forced a comparison between Aphrodite from the tondo of the Basel Market cup and Ariadne on the Divine Banquet cup (cat. 3, pl. 11b), it is still impossible to find figure-types from the Codrus Painter's Circle similar to the Erotes and the youths.

A juxtaposition of the Codrus Painter with his contemporaries reveals the intricate network of influences among vase-painters and helps to place our painter and his Circle in the larger context of the Athenian *kerameikos* during the second half of the fifth century BCE.¹ In particular, we will consider the work of three vase-painters—the Eretria Painter, Aison, and the Meidias Painter—in an attempt to elucidate their style and repertory vis-à-vis the Codrus Painter’s. We will also discuss the findspots of their vases, which will shed some light on contemporary trading patterns. Etruria was by far the most popular export market for our painter, and it is interesting to note that in at least three tombs in Italy, cups by the Codrus Painter, the Eretria Painter, and Aison were found together (see also section 1.2).² This observation demonstrates the interaction of the three vase-painters, who seem to have worked closely with each other and may even have shared the same dealer.

5.1 THE CODRUS PAINTER AND THE ERETRIA PAINTER

One of the most talented vase-painters from around 440 to 420 BCE was the Eretria Painter. Comfortable with both red-figure and white-ground techniques, the Eretria Painter decorated a wide selection of shapes, unlike the Codrus Painter, who limited his production to red-figure drinking cups. Lezzi-Hafter observes common features in the work of the two painters, such as the fact that both tended to produce cups of smaller diameter during the second stages of their career, encouraged the reintroduction of the type C cup, and preferred to decorate their cups with unifying exterior themes. She has shown further that the Codrus Painter’s cups evolved from the tradition of Hieron and discusses their shapes and floral decoration in connection with the Eretria Painter.³

One significant difference between these contemporaries involves the findspots of their vases. Whereas the majority of the Codrus Painter’s vases were discovered in Etruria, the cups by the Eretria Painter, as well as other shapes decorated by his hand, were found mainly in Athens and Attica, Rhodes, and Cyprus. Interestingly, minor painters associated with the workshop of the Eretria Painter appear to have had more extensive commercial relations with Etruria and Italy than the leading artist of their group did.⁴

The repertory of the Codrus Painter includes a large number of athletes and youths, departures of warriors, episodes from the Dionysiac cycle, and scenes inspired either by rare Athenian myths and heroes or by frequently used myths rendered in a unique way.⁵ Almost no preserved vase attributed to his hand or Manner depicts any female scenes, let alone wedding themes. In contrast, the Eretria Painter is particularly known for his keen interest in the world of women.⁶ Given that the two painters specialized in different iconographic subjects and privileged diverse markets, any comparison between them seems uneven. Regarding the choice of mythological episodes to represent, Lezzi-Hafter suggests that the older Eretria Painter adopted certain subjects as a reaction to the new and perhaps more successful compositions of the Codrus Painter.⁷ In particular, his adoption of large gestures and experimentation with inscriptions seem to have been influenced by the Codrus Painter.

Both painters present similar scenes of Dionysiac character and depictions of youths and athletes, but again the Codrus Painter appears to have been much more interested in depicting the male athletic body than his colleague was.⁸ It is interesting to note that the Eretria Painter is more likely to use *kalos* inscriptions than the Codrus Painter, while both painters produced cups influenced by contemporary

theatrical performances.⁹ Both the Eretria Painter and the Codrus Painter seem to have revived the decoration of a tondo with a rider; however, only the Codrus Painter succeeded in creating a cohesive, unified subject linking the tondo with the exterior scenes.¹⁰

Based on these observations, one can compare the oinochoe by the Eretria Painter decorated with the departure of a warrior named Pandion¹¹ to the namepiece of the Codrus Painter (cat. 1, pl. 1) in terms of both the subject and the arrangement of the figures. Also especially close to the spirit of the Codrus Painter is the kantharos by the Eretria Painter depicting Achilles and Patroclus leaving Thessaly.¹² Even the Theseus cycle cup by the Codrus Painter (cat. 16, pl. 5) seems to have a counterpart among the works of the Eretria Painter.¹³ Both cups are decorated with an interior depicting the deeds of Theseus, but instead of reserving the tondo for the Minotaur episode, the Eretria Painter depicted the taming of the Marathon bull. The Codrus Painter's Theseus cup gives the impression of a more disciplined, quiet composition mirrored on the exterior and the interior. It also preserves some archaistic elements, such as using the meander to represent the labyrinth and the poses of the Tyrannicides for the victorious Athenian hero.¹⁴

The Codrus Painter's cups manifest his keen interest in the sculptural production of his time, and particularly in works by the Phidian workshop. This is in stark contrast to the Eretria Painter: even though he was active during the construction of the Parthenon, his preserved work displays no direct influence from the Parthenon frieze, with the exception perhaps of some youths who occasionally imitate figure-types from the north frieze. Likewise, motifs and figures from the frieze of the Athena Nike Temple or the Parthenon shield are reflected on the Eretria Painter's vases in only a few cases.¹⁵

Lezzi-Hafter detected some affinities between the Codrus Painter and minor painters of the workshop of the Eretria Painter, such as the Calliope Painter, the Disney Painter, and the Painter of the Naples Hydriskai.¹⁶ The impact of certain figure-types from the Codrus Painter's early cups was such that they are echoed in works attributed to followers of the Eretria Painter. One example is a pelike by the Calliope Painter depicting a bearded male figure with a wreath and a walking stick.¹⁷ Similarly, the Disney Painter's athletes recall figure-types used by the Codrus Painter, while the Painter of the Naples Hydriskai and the Calliope Painter often imitate subjects from his repertoire.¹⁸

5.2 THE CODRUS PAINTER, AISON, AND THE MEIDIAS PAINTER

The history of research on the work of the Codrus Painter reveals a high degree of difficulty and perplexity in attributing vases to him. His style was initially confused with Aison's¹⁹ because of affinities in their drawing as well as their

similar repertoires. Until the formation of Beazley's catalogues, cups shifted from one painter to another, with the most controversial arguments revolving around the cycle cups depicting Theseus and their chronology. The Theseus cup by the Codrus Painter (cat. 16, pl. 5), along with the smaller cup in Harrow, was often attributed to Aison because of similarities to the latter's signed cup in Madrid.²⁰ Aison was principally a cup-painter, but he also decorated other small vases, including oinochoai, lekythoi, and pelikai.

Even though the scholarly community agrees today upon most attributions, there is still a debate about the relationship of the Codrus Painter to Aison and the Meidias Painter. This argument is part of a larger methodological question that casts doubt on the accuracy of identifying painters as masters and pupils based on chronological order and defining their relationships according to art-historical methods of later periods.

The publication in the 1970s of a chous from the Kerameikos sparked lively discussion regarding connections among the three painters. The chous depicts four satyrs surrounding the nymph Amymone.²¹ Based on inevitably subjective evaluations of style and drawing, Ursula Knigge, Adrienne Lezzi-Hafter, and Irma Wehgartner reconstructed diverging profiles of the three painters and suggested different degrees of dependence based upon assumed teacher-pupil relationships.²²

Despite the lack of precise archaeological evidence for the operation of a pottery workshop in Athens, and the inescapable association of the notion of a workshop containing masters and apprentices with later periods of art history, certain observations regarding the interaction of these three painters can be securely made. In particular, the Kerameikos chous recalls the work of the Meidias Painter, but the drawing is closer to Aison, especially with respect to the satyrs. Even though Aison has several affinities with the style of the Meidias Painter, enough to consider the former an important source of influence, one should be hesitant in applying the master-pupil pattern to their work. On the other hand, the Codrus Painter may be viewed as Aison's close associate or teacher (for lack of better word), because the similarities in their style and iconography are considerable and often blur their personal characteristics.

The Meidias Painter is a vase-painter usually examined in relation to monumental painting because of the Polygnotan elements detected in his compositions. He favored shapes larger than the drinking vessels of the Codrus Painter and Aison, and he is particularly known for his exquisite female scenes on hydriai, pyxides, and lekythoi. Both the Eretria Painter and Aison are thought to have been his teachers. In contrast to the iconographic subjects of the Codrus Painter, the Meidias Painter's repertoire includes personifications of abstract concepts, wedding scenes, and

the Dionysiac episodes that gained popularity in the last two decades of the fifth century.²³

The plethora and intricacy of his Dionysiac themes have led scholars to suggest that the Meidias Painter is responsible for introducing those subjects to the Codrus Painter. They are almost completely absent from Aison's repertory.²⁴ However, one may argue instead that such a trend was initiated by a painter from the Polygnotan Group, especially if we compare the proximity of both style and subject between, for example, the satyrs created by the Codrus Painter and the ones found on the krater in Bologna by the Dinos Painter depicting a bull sacrifice.²⁵ The relationship of the Codrus Painter to the Meidias Painter lies more in the choice of repertory than in style, since there is very little similarity between the Codrus Painter's solid drawing and the light, playful compositions of the Meidias Painter. It appears that painters from the Meidias Painter's Circle, such as Aristophanes, were more appreciative of the qualities of the Codrus Painter's design, the arrangement of his figures, and his indebtedness to monumentality and sculptural prototypes.²⁶ Minor painters from the wider Circle of the Meidias Painter seem to have adopted the iconographic motifs of cups by the Codrus Painter, particularly his numerous palaistra scenes, as is evident, for example, in the work of the Painter of London E106.²⁷

The most intriguing result of this preliminary study of the relationship among the Codrus Painter, the Meidias Painter, and Aison concerns the different markets they targeted. Eliana Mugione examined 59 vases by Aison and 132 by the Meidias Painter and his Circle dated between 430 and 400 and discovered that more than 15 percent of Aison's vases with known provenance were found in Greece, a percentage that is more than tripled in the case of the Meidias Painter (48 percent). Both Aison and the Meidias Painter directed about 8 percent of their production toward Etruria, in contrast to the Codrus Painter, who appears to have largely preferred Etruscan sites over other Mediterranean markets (see chapter 12). South Italy was Aison's preferred destination: about 30 percent of his works were discovered in Italian towns and Greek colonies.²⁸

5.3 THE CODRUS PAINTER AND THE GROUP OF POLYGNOTOS

There is no denying that there was a high degree of specialization in the production of Athenian pottery; however,

one should not exclude the possibility that painters decorated a variety of shapes before they became experienced, competent, and successful producers of a single, specific type of pottery.²⁹ For this reason it is important to offer an overview of the relationship between the Codrus Painter and the workshop of Polygnotos.

The association of the Codrus Painter with that workshop seems quite plausible, not only when we study the few Polygnotan cups,³⁰ but also when we compare his style with that of contemporary painters of large shapes, such as the Dinos Painter and the Peleus Painter.³¹ Often the contemporaneity of the above-mentioned painters and their common influences from sculptural and pictorial prototypes are used to explain their iconographic similarities to the Codrus Painter.³² However, it seems equally possible that the Codrus Painter was trained in the workshop of the Polygnotan Group, which produced a variety of departure scenes, mythological episodes, and Dionysiac subjects, and then followed his own path, imprinting on his cups iconographic elements that were characteristic of the later Polygnotan style.³³

5.4 CONCLUSION

These observations suggest that fifth-century Athenian painters enjoyed a high degree of interaction with one another, whether they shared a workshop or were in neighboring ones. Competition may have sparked potters and painters to study successful vases and copy their shape and decoration. Imitation was (and still is) the best way to learn, even though it does not guarantee the same artistic sophistication and profitable sales as the original. This is, I think, why we can detect so many influences from various sources in the work of vase-painters, including the Codrus Painter. His vases happened to sell well in Etruria and were therefore copied by his fellow painters (now labeled "Manner of" or "Near") who continued to cater to the same markets with little interest or success in expanding beyond them, and also by those (like Aison) who targeted different areas, such as South Italy. On the opposite side of the coin, the Codrus Painter himself seems to have been inspired by (or even to have imitated) the work of talented painters like Polygnotos and his Circle or the Eretria Painter and the Meidias Painter, but he never lost the ability to invest his personal style in his compositions. This was probably the reason for his success.

The Codrus Painter and his Circle produced more than ten cups representing heroes in well-known episodes or nameless warriors departing for a campaign.¹ The warriors are sometimes given heroic status by the proud display of their nudity and by association with heroic scenes; most figures remain unidentified, shown either fighting or, more often, making a libation with the help of a woman.² Few of them have inscriptions, confirming their generic heroic identity. The political and polemic realities of the 440s and 430s meant that many Athenian households experienced similar departure scenes, as hoplites left home and the women of the family bade them farewell. These circumstances explain the quantity of the departure scenes in this period as well as the vase-painters' choice of heroes and myths to depict. The Codrus Painter and his Circle served this trend faithfully, since most of the vases of the early phase are decorated with an Attic myth, a departure scene, or a combination of both.

6.1 HEROIC KINGS AND ROYAL HEROES: THE CODRUS CUP
The namepiece of the Codrus Painter was found in the necropolis of Vulci and belongs to his early phase (cat. 1). The tondo depicts two figures: Ainetos, a legendary king rarely represented in art, and Codrus, another mythical king of Athens, after whom the painter was named (pl. 1a).³ The warrior king Codrus is shown in full armor with an impressive device of a Chimaera on his shield,⁴ while Ainetos wears a himation and rests his weight on a staff. According to the myth, Codrus sacrificed himself to save Athens because an oracle had stated that the city would remain safe from the Dorians only if the king was killed by the enemy. The cup represents the moment of the king's departure and anticipates his heroic sacrifice.⁵

The exterior of the Codrus cup is decorated with two

departure scenes. On one side, two heroes named Menestheus and Aias are preparing to leave for the Trojan War; on the other, two Attic heroes inscribed Theseus and Phorbas are depicted among family members as they set off on a mission, probably against the Amazons (pl. 1b–c).⁶ The two departure scenes are arranged in a similar manner. Five figures are divided into groups of two and three. The departing warriors are placed in the second and fourth positions. The middle and the extreme right figures on both sides are women. This arrangement makes it easy for the vase-painter and the viewer to compare the two scenes and assimilate the roles of the figures, whose identity is certain, since they are all inscribed.

On one side Aias⁷ carries a shield with a bull device and converses with a bearded man named Lykos⁸ instead of his real father, Telamon, as one might expect (pl. 1b).⁹ Following this pair comes Athena and behind her a youthful figure, Menestheus, a legendary king of Athens and founder of colonies.¹⁰ Athena is between the two heroes, wearing an elegant peplos, its upper half covered by an elaborate aegis. She has a diadem on her hair and holds a spear in her right hand. With her left she gestures toward Menestheus, who is depicted as lightly armed, in contrast to the more heavily armed Aias.¹¹

The last figure of the group is Melite, the personification of the homonymous Attic deme. She wears a peplos, and her stance, with one hand on the waist, recalls the statue of Athena by Euenor.¹² If Melite's presence here is a reference to a deme, then Aias could also be perceived as a symbol of the Aiantis tribe. These two figures are further associated, since the sanctuary of Aias' son, the Eurysakeion, is in the deme of Melite.¹³

On the other side of the Codrus cup, a mature man named Aigeus¹⁴ is talking to his son, Theseus, who is

dressed in traveler's gear and armed with two spears and a sword (pl. 1c).¹⁵ Behind him stands Medea, wearing a peplos with a long apoxygma and kolpos, her hair covered in a sakkos.¹⁶ With her right hand she holds a helmet for Phorbas, Theseus' charioteer, as he rapidly approaches.¹⁷ A petasos and a sword hang in the background. Even though Medea and Theseus are mostly represented together in scenes related to the taming of the Marathon bull, the depiction of a helmeted Phorbas argues for reading the scene as the departure of the two heroes on a campaign against the Amazons.¹⁸

The maternal figure on the extreme right is Aithra.¹⁹ Her long himation completely covers her body and suits the modesty and reserve of an older woman, in contrast to Medea's drapery. One should note, however, that Aithra is usually shown with white hair, her body bent with age.²⁰ The difference in the appearance of the two women on the Codrus Painter's cup indicates their diverse roles in Theseus' story and stands as a good example of how women in general will affect the hero in significant stages of his life.²¹

Despite the inscriptions and the straightforward arrangement of the figures, the Codrus cup has inspired numerous readings ever since its discovery. Among the more commonly accepted suggestions is Uta Kron's interpretation of the departure scenes as two *exempla* that the Athenians followed during the Persian Wars and that were evoked for a second time during the Peloponnesian War.²² A different approach was followed by Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood, who used this cup in a methodological exercise on the interpretation of iconography and arrived at different conclusions. According to her reading, Ainetos is the pro-Athenian Phokian hero who provided King Codrus with the prophecy that connected his death with the liberation of Athens. Sourvinou-Inwood pointed out that in the period around 440–430 the Delphic Oracle was openly supporting Athens' opponents, the Spartans (Thuc. 7.118.3), and this attitude could explain the replacement of the Delphic prophet by Ainetos on the Codrus cup. This illustrated political concept implies victory in the upcoming war even without the assistance of the Oracle, assimilating this new Athenian campaign to their legendary repulsing of the Dorian invasion.²³

Ainetos links Codrus with the previous Athenian kings, and their pairing underscores the importance of ancestors and their participation in all critical situations involving the city. The Athenians, with their strong claim of autochthony, developed a genuine respect for tradition. They manifested their superiority through their lineage and their legendary ancestors, and even by appropriating non-Attic heroes. Since tradition played a crucial role in propaganda and image making, it was common practice to trace one's origins to great mythical figures. For example, the Alkmaionids and Philaids claimed as their ancestors members

of the great Neleid family who settled in Athens after the sack of Pylos by Herakles. On the other hand, the Peisistratids traced their lineage to a third Neleid who did not reach Attica, while a fourth Athenian family, the Medontidai, claimed Medon, son of Codrus, as their ancestor.²⁴

The scene on side A of the Codrus cup takes place in the palace of Aigeus but is by no means a "family picture," since the parameters of both space and time argue against that. The scene unfolds in the mythical sphere, where all kinds of combinations are legitimate as long as the elements are well bound together. Aithra and Medea never lived under the same roof, but they are shown together here witnessing the departure of Theseus and Phorbas. Aigeus is married to Medea, but Aithra is Theseus' mother, so she is rightfully included in the scene.²⁵

Sourvinou-Inwood explains the presence of Medea as the "negative correlative" of Athena, but there may be another interpretation.²⁶ The way Medea holds the helmet for Phorbas recalls the statuary type of Athena Lemnia, a pose often associated with divine epiphany (*epiphaneia*), and is also similar to the "Lansdowne" marble relief depicting Athena with one hand on her thigh and the other holding a Corinthian helmet.²⁷ One could argue that Medea's role reflects that of Athena on the opposite side of the cup—actually protecting Theseus, just as Athena puts under her aegis two other Attic heroes, Aias and Menestheus. In Euripides' *Medea*, performed in 431, the protagonist shows heroic, male virtues. Attributing characteristics such as *tolmē*, *eupsuchia*, and *timē* (courage, magnanimity, and honor) to a woman and particularly a foreigner, starkly contrasts with fifth-century Athenian standards.²⁸ It is perhaps this virtuous Medea who is represented on the Codrus cup rather than the ruthless concubine.²⁹ In Euripides' play we see Medea conversing with Aigeus (663–758) and criticizing Jason and his future father-in-law and king of Corinth, Kreon, while at the same time she praises Athens and the house of Erechtheus (see also the words of the chorus, 824–865). This pro-Athenian theme is most evident at lines 734–740, where Medea asks Aigeus to take her with him and protect her from Jason and Kreon. Here she takes a clear pro-Athenian stand, as she aspires to the ideals of Aigeus and his city. Corinth, on the other hand, is an enemy threatening her very existence. This situation can be compared to the political atmosphere before the Peloponnesian War and the enmity between Athens and Corinth. Through this prism, a benevolent representation of Medea is better understood. In addition, one should recall alternative traditions, already circulating in the seventh century BCE, that painted a much more favorable portrayal of her. One of these accounts states that the Corinthians killed her children, while another explains that she accidentally caused their death by trying to render them immortal.³⁰

Another interesting issue is the resemblance of Medea's

name to the epithet *medeousa* that is often used for Athena Polias.³¹ This similarity may imply that the Athenians enjoyed the protection not only of their city goddess but of their foreign queen as well.³² If we acknowledge the conscious Athenian attempts to appropriate non-Attic heroes into their own local pantheon in order to better protect their city, a tactic used in the case of Oedipus and Amazons among others, then it should not come as a surprise that they wanted a mighty sorceress of royal status such as Medea to be on their side and use her powers on their behalf.

Even though the two sides of the Codrus cup show similarities in the arrangement of the figures, there are also differences. One side depicts figures associated with specific Athenian sites such as the Lykeion, Melite, and Salamis,³³ while the opposite side seems less Athenian in character. Theseus is flanked by an oriental queen, Medea, and by Aigeus, whose Athenian origins are weak when compared with those of the autochthonous Menestheus, the great-grandson of Erechtheus. Even Theseus' mother, Aithra, lacks a pure Athenian heritage, since she is the daughter of Pittheus of Troizen. Phorbas is the only true Attic hero, as well as a son of Poseidon. His prominent placement and the fact that he is the only figure in motion may indicate his significance in linking Theseus to pure Athenian heroes, both as an instructor and as a half-brother.³⁴

It is also interesting to note that Lykos left no dynasty as a ruler of the Diakria in northeastern Attica, and according to the legend he ruled only for a short period between Aigeus and Theseus. Lykos' presence among the true Athenian kings supports the comments of scholiasts who portray him as a traitor to Theseus and has led Sourvinou-Inwood to identify both Lykos and Medea as symbols of Athens' untrustworthy enemies.³⁵

Tradition has saved no record of Ainetos' achievements,³⁶ in contrast to the well-attested Codrus, who sealed his fate with his sacrifice. If Codrus is grouped with Aias and Menestheus, whose acts are widely known, and whose love for their city was proven, then Theseus should be placed with Ainetos, since he still has to prove his abilities. The previous heroes set the examples he needs to follow in order to accomplish specific deeds as brave as theirs. He is not a mere representative of the hoplites but a hero gifted with wisdom (*sophia*) and experienced in skills (*technē*).³⁷

At the threshold of the Peloponnesian War, all heroes, ur-Athenian and quasi-Athenian, are recruited to encourage the ephebes and help preserve the city. Not only the father, the teacher, and the family of Theseus are present, but kings and heroes as well. Their gathering in this family context sets the Codrus cup apart from the bulk of contemporary departure scenes. An illustration of national ideals is always necessary during war preparations. The cup mobilizes myths and heroes to serve as a model that any Athenian would proudly follow.³⁸

6.2 FROM THE ATTIC LAND: THE ERICHTHONIOS CUP

One of the most intriguing stories of divine lust leading to an extraordinary conception and birth is attested both in literary sources and on Attic vases. The amorous pursuit of Athena by Hephaistos is graphically described by ancient authors as a story of rejection on the part of the goddess and premature ejaculation on the part of the god. Disgusted at the sight of the sperm on her thigh, Athena uses a woolen cloth to cleanse herself and throws it down on the earth. Ge (Mother Earth) receives the gift of life and produces a baby boy named Erichthonios. This bizarre virgin birth culminates with the young boy's delivery to Athena by Ge. Having such a unique family, Erichthonios was most appropriately worshipped by the Athenians as one of their legendary kings, and his bond with the Attic land rendered him the most eloquent example of Athenian autochthony.³⁹

The Codrus Painter decorated a cup found in Tarquinia with a version of this myth (cat. 2, pl. 3). More precisely, his kylix illustrates, on the exterior, the moment of Erichthonios' delivery witnessed by legendary kings of Athens and local deities, while the tondo shows the abduction of Kephalos by Eos. All figures are named with inscriptions.⁴⁰

The exterior of the Erichthonios cup depicts Kekrops, the half-serpent, half-human king of Athens, wearing a mantle and an olive wreath and holding a staff (pl. 3a).⁴¹ Next, Ge rises from the earth with a diadem on her long hair and a scepter resting on her shoulder.⁴² She delivers Erichthonios to Athena, who receives him with open arms, having dispensed with her helmet and turned her aegis away from the child.⁴³ These three figures—Ge, Erichthonios, Athena—form a triangular composition that is further highlighted by the axis of the scepter and spear of the two goddesses. Athena is the predominant figure, imposing both for her size and through her central position.

Hephaistos stands behind Athena, leaning on his walking stick and carrying no other attributes except for the himation wrapped around his left forearm and a wreath on his head. Herse, one of the daughters of Kekrops to whom the safekeeping of Erichthonios' cist was entrusted, is the young girl who enters the scene from the right.⁴⁴ She lifts her garment and makes a gesture that guides our gaze toward the center of the scene where the action takes place. The other two Kekropids, Aglauros and Pandrosos, follow beyond the handle, thus uniting the two sides of the cup and inviting Erechtheus and Aigeus, future kings of Athens, to witness the divine birth (pl. 3b).⁴⁵

The two kings are dressed alike, and both have wreaths and scepters. Last comes Pallas, Aigeus' brother, who in contrast to the rest of the male figures makes no gestures, is less active, and wears no wreath, a trait perhaps indicative of his different, nonroyal, status.⁴⁶ This iconographic differentiation may have a deeper meaning. Even though his people were considered savage giants, Pallas was

supposed to become the king of Athens after Aigeus' death. However, his plans never materialized because of the unexpected arrival of Theseus, which led to the defeat of the Pallantides.⁴⁷ On the Codrus Painter's cup, each king is invited to celebrate the birth of Erichthonios, and thus become initiated into the ancient myth and ceremony, by Athena herself or by her trustees, the Kekropids. Nobody, however, invites Pallas; Aigeus turns his back on him as he rushes off. Pallas is not treated as an equal, perhaps because of his later fight against Theseus or because he is not civilized enough to accept Athena's gifts. Ultimately, the composition combines the ancient myth of the birth of Erichthonios, the core of the Athenian belief in autochthony, with three mythical kings of Athens: Kekrops, Erechtheus, and Aigeus,⁴⁸ after whom three of the ten tribes of Kleisthenes were named.⁴⁹

As is typical of the Codrus Painter, the tondo scene with the rape of Kephalos by Eos is relevant to the exterior composition (pl. 3c). Kephalos, the handsome hunter and later king of Athens, was the son of Herse and Hermes and is related to Erechtheus through his marriage to Prokris.⁵⁰ Interestingly, he wears the same wreath that adorns the men on the exterior, indicative perhaps of royal origin.

On at least two more vases, the birth of Erichthonios is paired with the pursuit of Kephalos by Eos: on the calyx krater by the Nikias Painter (ca. 410) and the calyx krater by the Talos Painter (end of fifth century).⁵¹ The walls of a cup and a calyx krater are quite flat, thus offering the painter adequate space to develop his composition, and also resembling the pictorial surface of a fresco. This repeated combination of the two themes may reflect a larger composition, sculptural or painted.⁵²

The myth of Erichthonios became particularly popular in vase paintings of the fifth and fourth centuries.⁵³ The earliest representation appears on a black-figure white-ground lekythos from the first quarter of the fifth century.⁵⁴ The introduction of this iconographic scheme has been associated with the conscious attempt of the Athenians to de-emphasize their Ionian origin and instead use various artistic means (both pictorial and literary) to remind their allies and enemies of their special autochthonous roots. This claim was eagerly cultivated soon after the Persian Wars and reached its peak before and during the Peloponnesian War.⁵⁵

In the fifth century, vases depicting the birth of Erichthonios vary with regard to the cast of deities represented and their number and arrangement, as well as other stylistic features. Some of the best-known examples include the stamnos of the Painter of Munich 2413 (470–455), the hydria by the Oinante Painter, where Zeus takes the place of Hephaistos as witness to the birth of Erichthonios, and the calyx krater by the Nikias Painter (410).⁵⁶ A less well known illustration is found on a fragmentary krater of the

late fifth or early fourth century from Corinth. It preserves parts of three figures: Athena on the left, the hand of a rising Ge, and the foot of Erichthonios.⁵⁷

In addition to the moment of Erichthonios' delivery to Athena, there are numerous vase paintings where his presence is implied by a snake or a basket, such as the cup fragment in the Louvre (440).⁵⁸ Alternatively, vases may represent different moments of the myth, ranging from the opening of the basket by the daughters of Kekrops to their punishment by Athena. These vase paintings initiated a series of birth scenes of both mythological and generic character that became quite popular on Attic vases. For example, the three-figure composition of Ge presenting Erichthonios to Athena was used for representing the delivery of Ploutos from Ge to Demeter.⁵⁹

Of special interest is a pyxis found in a tomb in Athens, near the road that leads to Acharnai. It is attributed to the Meidias Painter and dates to 420–400. The disk of the lid depicts the birth of Erichthonios with five named figures: Kekrops, Basile,⁶⁰ Soteria,⁶¹ Athena, and Erichthonios.⁶² Its cylindrical wall shows the punishment of the Kekropids by Athena, witnessed by many onlookers; all the figures are named: Pyllos,⁶³ Chryseis, Eunoe, Phylonoe,⁶⁴ Hermes, Nike, Nyseis,⁶⁵ Kekrops, Herse, Pandrosos, Aglauros, Athena, Basileia.⁶⁶ The names suggest a gathering of local mythological figures and personifications. In her discussion of the pyxis, Lucilla Burn concludes that Basile and Basileia should be perceived as one deity, contrary to Shapiro, who disassociates the two, pointing out that a separate cult for Basile was introduced around the end of the fifth century along with the ones for Codrus and other minor deities such as Eunomia and Hygeia. He interprets the scene as a manifestation of Erichthonios as a legitimate successor (Basileia), an essential procedure for the preservation of the people (Soteria), and suggests that the contemporary production of Aristophanes' *Birds*, where Basileia is a *paredros* of Zeus, was the source of the painter's inspiration. Maria Zappeiropoulou-Mitropoulou follows an alternative approach. In her brief discussion of the pyxis, she focuses on Pyllos and interprets him as an ancestor of the Peisistratids and stepfather of Herakles during his initiation into the Eleusinian Mysteries. Since Pyllos is also thought to be a son of Hephaistos, she proceeds to an assimilation of Chryseis to Chryses, the deity of Lemnos, one of Hephaistos' main cult sites. The connection of both figures to Hephaistos suffices, in her view, to explain their presence at the birth of Erichthonios.⁶⁷

Despite the mediocre quality of the available photographs and the absence of proper publication, one could suggest a different interpretation of the pyxis by the Meidias Painter. This new approach correlates the findspot of the vase with its decoration and allows the assumption that in the crucial passage between life and death, the deceased

received this pyxis as a grave gift and enjoyed the escort of important Attic deities, such as the ones depicted on the cylinder of the lid.⁶⁸ After one passed away, salvation (Soteria) was reached through the birth of Erichthonios, with the implication that the very soil that produced Erichthonios now receives one of his autochthonous descendants.

Let us now summarize the development of the figures participating in the myth of Erichthonios as illustrated on fifth-century vase paintings. Erichthonios can be depicted as a baby, a child, and sometimes as a young boy. In most cases he wears one or more amulets,⁶⁹ while some representations include an interesting detail: the embroidered peplos with which Athena covers him.

Ge is usually of larger scale and shown as a maternal figure in elaborate drapery. In the vase paintings of around 470, she is shown from the waist up and has little ornament, but as we approach the second half of the fifth century, more of her body is revealed above the ground line. Particularly in Late Classical vases, Ge enjoys a very prominent position. The Cleveland lekythos has perhaps the only example of a seated Ge, deviating from traditional representations.⁷⁰

Athena, on the other hand, remains the protagonist in all scenes. There is no development in her depiction from a war goddess toward a maternal figure, since both types occur on vase paintings from 470 to 400. As the century wanes, more figures enrich the original scene showing the basic three or four persons (Ge, Athena, Erichthonios, Hephaistos/Zeus).

Kekrops appears in representations of the birth of Erichthonios only after the middle of the fifth century,⁷¹ while the Olympian gods are frequent observers of the event. Scenes with the birth of Erichthonios can be arranged in two groups, each one following a different prototype: an early one without Kekrops and a later one with him. The transition from one group to the other probably takes place around 440. Based on Pausanias' account (1.14.6), it is presumed that the statue base of Athena and Hephaistos in the Hephaisteion attributed to Alkamenes was decorated with the birth of Erichthonios.⁷² Henri Metzger denies any direct dependence of the vase paintings on the Hephaisteion base, since there are many representations of the myth before 450.⁷³ As far as the cup by the Codrus Painter is concerned, it cannot be associated with the Hephaisteion base, since the cult statues were made between 421/420 and 416/415, and the cup dates to 440–430. As there are no contemporary sculptural examples that could have functioned as a source of inspiration for the painters, it is best to explain the popularity of the subject in vase painting as the result of the general turn in all arts toward local heroes and Attic myths during the second half of the fifth century. This tendency is evident in the plots of tragedies and the texts of the orators, in the sculptural dedications in Pan-

hellenic sanctuaries and elsewhere, and of course in monuments within Athens and in allied cities (e.g., Samos).⁷⁴

Sculptures, vase paintings, and literary sources reveal the Athenian preferences for depictions of the Erichthonios myth. According to Vincent Rosivach, the first half of the fifth century witnessed the "final stages of processing the Athenian belief of the chthonic origins of their race and the special bonding with the land of Attica, which they inhabited since immemorial time." The Athenian claim of autochthony was largely based on the chthonic origin of Erichthonios, and even though the new system was exploited for patriotic reasons during the Persian Wars, after the victory against the Persians it became the ideological foundation of Athenian supremacy over both allies and enemies. The same principles can be found in funerary orations, where the praise of the ancestors, heroes, and the glorious past of the city provided the most powerful arguments to encourage and remind the listeners.⁷⁵

The tendency in the visual arts to use Attic legends that promoted Athenian interests became a handy tool in the hands of Pericles during the formation of his political and building program. It is interesting to note that after he introduced the citizenship law, there was an increase in the number of family and birth scenes in Attic art. Thanks to a thorough study of the iconography of this period and particularly the proliferation of birth scenes, Shapiro demonstrates that these episodes originate from the conscious attempt to use Erechtheus as a complement to Theseus. The latter, even though a famous Attic hero, was nonetheless a stranger, especially under the Periclean citizenship law of 451/450. This probably resulted in Erechtheus' taking over some civic duties from Theseus, being autochthonous and thus a true Athenian, while at the same time Theseus' illustrations make use of motifs that once belonged to Erichthonios: for example, his birth scene and the meeting with Aigeus.⁷⁶

The proliferation of children on the grave stelai of the period between 430 and 410 and the increase in choes displaying children at the Anthesteria are explained by the political and social conditions of the period: namely the Peloponnesian War and the plague, which cost the lives of numerous citizens.⁷⁷ Yet the substantial representation of children on monuments publicly displayed in the Kerameikos may also imply the all-Athenian roots of the deceased and the legacy of pure descendants left in his stead. Similarly, the abundance of scenes with children on choes used in widely attended festivals of Dionysos emphasizes the significant role of these proto-civic members of Athenian society in honoring their families and the autochthonous origin of their country.

The considerable number of vases with Erichthonios found in Etruria, and the representation of the same myth and related ones on non-Attic works of art throughout the

Mediterranean, indicate that Athenian propaganda had found an effective way to make its principles and legends known beyond Attic territories. Thus, although distinctly Attic in meaning, the story of Erichthonios would be appreciated from Etruria to Ionia. The first illustrations of the birth of Erichthonios date to the period around the Persian Wars, but the literary sources and scattered examples suggest that the myth was well known in Ionia before it became the trademark of the Athenian empire, and from there diffused throughout the Mediterranean.⁷⁸

The Codrus Painter treated the myth of Erichthonios in an almost theatrical way. The arrangement of the figures on the exterior and their lively gestures culminate in Erichthonios' delivery, the core of the composition. The representation in the tondo of one of his descendants, Kephalos, has an almost instructive character, since it unfolds the royal line of Athens. The Codrus Painter took the myth one step beyond the early fifth-century pattern with three or four basic figures and prepared the ground for the more elaborate depictions of the last decades of the century. This magnificent illustration of the Athenian mythical past was in tune with the renewed appreciation for ancestors, while at the same time it anticipated more intricate compositions, such as the sculptural masterpieces of the Hephaistion base and the Erechtheion frieze.

A brief survey of vases decorated with the myth of Erichthonios and the pursuit of Kephalos by Eos⁷⁹ allows us to make some interesting observations regarding the role of the above-mentioned figures in Greece and abroad.

From Kron's list of twenty-three Attic black- and red-figure vases, plus one attributed to an Ionian workshop, two should be disassociated from the myth of Erichthonios.⁸⁰ Of the remaining vases, five black-figure fragmentary loutrophoroi were found on the Acropolis (23 percent of the total), a red-figure pelike in the Agora, and a pyxis in a tomb near the Acharnai gates at Athens.⁸¹ A lekythos from Epidauros and a krater without specific Greek origin complete the picture of the vases decorated with the birth of Erichthonios that were found in Greece (42 percent). Two vases come from Vulci, one from Tarquinia, and another one from Chiusi (altogether 19 percent), while two more vases were found in Sicily. The rest have no known provenance. Of the aforementioned vases, five were discovered within funerary contexts, while the Melian relief now in Berlin was also allegedly found in a tomb near Ilissos (27 percent).⁸²

Out of 80 Attic red-figure vases certainly decorated with Eos pursuing Kephalos, only 7 were found in Greece (8 percent), while 36 come from the Italian peninsula (40 percent). Twenty of those were unearthed in Etruria, mostly in Nola and Vulci (25 percent of the total), while the rest are dispersed among the Greek colonies in South Italy and Sicily. Only nine Attic vases represent the moment of Keph-

alos' abduction by Eos, and we know the provenance of five of them: two were found in Capua, one in Gela, and two more at Vulci and Tarquinia.⁸³ Note, however, that the subject was popular among the Etruscan metal smiths as well, since we find two mirrors from Vulci dated around 470 and at least three more attributed to the same artist and decorated with the same subject but lacking secure provenance.⁸⁴

Based on these brief statistics, one can point out that the Erichthonios myth was relatively popular among the Greek clientele for Attic vases, and his presence was very strong in Athens. The shapes of the vases preferred (loutrophoroi, lekythoi) are firmly related to funerary customs, even though their findspots have mainly religious (Acropolis) and civic (Agora) characters. When exported to Etruria and other Italian sites, the vases decorated with the birth of the mythical king of Athens maintained their function as grave gifts almost exclusively. The vases with the pursuit and abduction of Kephalos are even more revealing: almost 30 percent of the vases discussed above were found in Etruscan necropoleis.

Both mythological subjects indicate that vases with local Attic myths may have functioned in Athens both as a mechanism to display the glorious past and as grave gifts, while abroad, and particularly in Etruria, they were valued primarily as funerary items. It remains to be examined further whether the Etruscans perceived the myth of Erichthonios through a different prism, and whether they associated the divine child with a local deity (Tages), as they did in the case of Eos/Thesan.⁸⁵

6.3 THE ATTIC HERO: THE THESEUS CUP

The cup in the British Museum once known as the Bassegio cup after a late nineteenth-century Roman dealer is one of the most often cited works by the Codrus Painter (cat. 16, pl. 5). Found in Vulci, it is today in a good state of preservation, with a diameter that measures more than 30 cm. The exterior and interior decoration consists of two friezes identical in subject: the deeds of Theseus during his journey from Troezen to Athens (pl. 5b). The action flows in a clockwise arrangement, while the tondo is reserved for the Athenian hero's most famous achievement: his encounter with the Minotaur (pl. 5a). This is one of the best examples of cycle cups (i.e., vases depicting at least three episodes from a single cycle).⁸⁶ What makes the cup special is that the interior is an almost exact reflection of the scenes on the exterior, albeit in a different sequence.⁸⁷ The placement of each episode recalls relief decoration—friezes and metopes in particular—since each deed is developed as an autonomous two-figured unit, and yet there is a clear sense of fluidity throughout the composition.⁸⁸

Starting just below the right handle and moving clockwise, seven deeds are depicted (pl. 5b): Theseus punishing

Prokroustes in the area called today Korydallos, wrestling with Kerkyon of Eleusis,⁸⁹ and preparing to kill the sow of Krommyon. Then follows the tying of Sinis at the Isthmus, the taming of the Marathon bull,⁹⁰ and, finally, Theseus threatening Skiron at Megara with his own weapon, a foot-bath.⁹¹

In almost the same order but arranged counterclockwise, the figures are mirrored in the interior of the cup (pl. 5a), although minor differences produce a confusing impression that would have been even more bewildering after a few cups of wine. One notices the reversed orientation of Theseus and Prokroustes, the slight change of posture of the wrestling group, the uneven number of breasts on the Krommyonian sow, and the slightly different gesture of Phaia,⁹² as well as the variation of Theseus' three-quarter back pose as he threatens Skiron and the larger space between the fight against Skiron and the struggle with the Marathon bull. There is also an extra rock separating the last two deeds. A more explicit landscape indication and a far more daring pose are found in the interior group of Theseus against Sinis.⁹³ Overall, the presence of Theseus on the cup is overwhelming: he is depicted no fewer than thirteen times, always in heroic nudity and one breath away from striking the final blow against his opponent.

There are more than twenty-five symposium vases from the fifth century decorated with the cycle of Theseus' deeds. Surprisingly, no similar cycle of the deeds of Herakles is found in vase painting, indicating that this canonization of heroic acts was a conscious attempt to make Theseus a worthy counterpart of the Peloponnesian hero.⁹⁴ Whether the prototype for such a depiction was a product of literature or the visual arts is hard to prove. The first mention of a literary work encompassing all the deeds of Theseus, a *Theseid*, is found in Aristotle's *Poetics* (1451a), but it seems that other works praising the young Athenian hero existed before the fourth century, possibly influencing his visual representations.⁹⁵

Jenifer Neils studied the iconography of Theseus' deeds on the so-called cycle cups and came to the conclusion that the cup by the Penthesilea Painter found in Spina is the most elaborate of these depictions.⁹⁶ Almost two decades after this cup, the Codrus Painter produced his own version of the Theseus cycle and was soon followed by the painter of the Harrow cup (pl. 6)⁹⁷ and Aison (pl. 7a–c),⁹⁸ to name only two.⁹⁹ Erich Hudeczek suggests that the Codrus Painter's kylix and the cup in Harrow follow a common prototype, but he also assumes a larger-scale model (i.e., monumental painting or sculpture) for all three cups in order to explain certain differences of style and motif.¹⁰⁰

Among the cycle cups contemporary with the kylix by the Codrus Painter one finds two interesting examples with both outer and inner friezes. The first one comes from the Athenian Agora,¹⁰¹ and, even though fragmentary, it de-

picts in the tondo the taming of the Marathon bull, with the famous encounter with the Minotaur and the punishment of Sinis and Prokroustes appearing in the inner frieze. Wrestling Kerkyon was probably represented as well, but it is not preserved. The same deeds were again depicted on the exterior of the Agora cup attributed to the Calliope Painter and dated to about 430–420.¹⁰² Its fragmentary condition allows us to make out only excerpts from the exterior scenes of Theseus and Kerkyon and Theseus with the Marathon bull and the Krommyonian sow.

The second cup is by the Phiale Painter (435–430),¹⁰³ and its decoration may be considered an abbreviated version of the Theseus cycle. In the tondo a woman labeled Themis carries a kanoun while offering a libation over an altar. Because of her name, the scene has been associated with the visit of Aigeus to the Delphic Oracle to consult the god about producing an heir.¹⁰⁴ The exterior depicts on one side the Athenian hero struggling against the sow of Phaia and on the other the deed of the Marathon bull, which, interestingly enough, includes the figure of Medea holding a phiale. On this cup Theseus competes against two ugly and dangerous women: Phaia and her sow, and Medea and her poison. The young hero is shown in the advantageous position of having almost slaughtered the sow, while Phaia, with her right hand extended toward the hero, is pleading for mercy. Medea flees as the hero tames the bull.

The Codrus Painter seems to have been one of the painters responsible for the revival of Theseus cycle cups after an interval of approximately twenty years. It is unclear if he was inspired by a sculptural model, such as the metopes of the Hephaisteion, or if he was simply reintroducing a successful recipe from the past. Nonetheless, he should be at least partially credited with the reappearance of this particular form of decoration.¹⁰⁵

Rather than discussing the origin and development of each episode depicted on the Theseus cup, topics covered in other works,¹⁰⁶ here I examine the iconography of the vase in its original context, the city of Athens, where it was manufactured, and also attempt to explain why the Etruscans found it appealing enough to buy it and place it as a grave offering.

One of the most important stories in Athenian mythology decorates the cup's tondo: Theseus and the Minotaur (pl. 5a). Theseus is depicted dragging the Minotaur out of the labyrinth/palace by the horns in a very theatrical manner. His firm grasp is placed right at the center of the tondo as the focal point of the composition and thus a direct proof of Theseus' achievement. In addition, the tip of the hero's sword, his line of vision, and even the Minotaur's body all point to this pivotal spot. One cannot help but notice that the pose and arrangement of the figures recall the motif of Herakles and Kerberos, used in both vase painting and sculpture.¹⁰⁷

The Harrow cup follows more or less the same arrangement of the tondo, showing part of the labyrinth on the right (symbolized again by a meander) and Theseus dragging the half-dead Minotaur and moving to the left (pl. 6). The cycle cup by Aison provides a variation on this synthesis, with the building viewed almost three-dimensionally, consisting of Ionic instead of Doric columns and, unexpectedly, interior steps (pl. 7c).¹⁰⁸ In front of the labyrinth stands a triumphant Theseus, but this time he is not alone: Athena is literally and metaphorically by his side. It has been suggested that the stance of the hero reflects the ideals of each period and that the cup by the Codrus Painter mirrors the modest display of confidence in Athens' power in the time of Pericles, while Aison's kylix reproduces the Athenian arrogance of the decades that followed the Peace of Nikias.¹⁰⁹

Theseus is the symbol of civilization and an excellent example for athletic young men. His opponents, on the other hand, are depicted as harmful animals or destructive demonic creatures, as semi-wild men with ugly or aged characteristics, unkempt hair, and untidy beards.¹¹⁰ The Athenian hero will bring order to the chaotic routes around Athens and protect his fellow citizens from the dangers of the uncivilized.

From a stylistic point of view, one notices distinct similarities between these figure-types and contemporary works of sculpture, both in relief and in the round. The influence of monumental painting has also been considered for such elaborate illustrations as the cycle cup,¹¹¹ while influence from sculptural prototypes is also evident: for example, the figure of Theseus opposing Sinis recalls the stance of the bronze Zeus of the Artemision. On the other hand, Sinis' kneeling pose on the exterior is a favorite motif in both vase painting and sculpture, applied often to representations of Cassandra's rape by Aias.¹¹² The Harmodios and Aristogeiton poses are widely used on this cup, reproduced from many viewpoints with equally impressive results.¹¹³ In this way Theseus, the hero of democratic Athens, is visually related to the Tyrannicides, the heroes who first established democracy. Pausanias (1.8.4–5) mentions several statues around the Temple of Ares in the Agora, including Herakles, Theseus, and Apollo Anadoumenos. All these were located near the Tyrant Slayers, and this proximity offered valuable material to the vase painters either to copy directly or to use as source of inspiration.¹¹⁴ Pausanias (1.24.1) describes further a votive statue group by Myron representing Theseus fighting the Minotaur, which was set on one side of the Panathenaic Way.¹¹⁵ He uses the word *machē* ("struggle") to describe the intense effort of Theseus to subdue the Minotaur and of the latter to avoid the final strike. It is this statuary group that may be echoed in the tondo of the Codrus Painter's cup.

Even though this comparison is never clearly stated in

the sources, Pericles is often spoken of as the new Theseus by scholars who associate the hero's deeds with the reforms of the great general.¹¹⁶ The Codrus Painter's cup was certainly produced within the period of Pericles' greatest power and may allude to his achievements. It is true that Pericles supported an iconographic program with many references to the deeds of Theseus, among other myths, but he was not the first or the last to do so, and therefore it is not necessary to recognize in every representation of Theseus a concealed image of Pericles.

In the second half of the fifth century, Theseus' deeds were a popular subject for representation, particularly in sculpture. Motifs, postures, and figure-types found in vase paintings were widely diffused thanks to the incorporation of these episodes in large-scale public monuments, such as the acroterion on the Royal Stoa (Paus. 1.3.1), the metopes and frieze of the Hephaisteion, and the frieze from the temple of Poseidon at Sounion. Equally influential on the circulation of myths and motifs among sculptors and minor artists must have been the setting of Theseus' statues in Athens and especially on the Acropolis (Paus. 1.27.8).¹¹⁷

Even though Theseus was not a popular hero in Etruria, the myth of the Minotaur was already known in the late seventh–early sixth centuries BCE.¹¹⁸ Archaic gems, reliefs, and fourth-century bronze mirrors are decorated with the story of the Minotaur or of the *gnorismata* of Theseus, while misinterpreted versions of the myth also occur frequently.¹¹⁹ It is interesting to note that relief urns from Volterra (second century BCE) are said to echo earlier representations of Attic black-figure and red-figure vases or even similar depictions of the Minotaur myth on Campanian vases.¹²⁰

The Theseus cup by the Codrus Painter was found in the necropolis of Vulci, placed in a tomb as a grave offering.¹²¹ The tomb was equipped with the customary symposium vessels so that the deceased could partake of the eternal banquet. Vases of all types and materials (metal, glass, clay) had both a functional and a semantic value and could be simultaneously used as status symbols. An elaborately decorated large Attic kylix like the Theseus cup was probably considered a precious piece, appreciated both in Athens and in Etruria.¹²² The *horror vacui* and size of the cup, as well as the intricacy and quality of the drawing, must have contributed to its value.¹²³

It is hard to comment on the meaning that the Theseus cycle might have had in the eyes of the Etruscans. The Theseus cup, as well as many other vases found in Etruria, certainly appealed to the aristocratic ideals of the Etruscans, since the famous Athenian hero was, after all, a king. A deeper meaning is doubtful, judging from the small role of Theseus in Etruscan mythology.¹²⁴ On the other hand, one could interpret the Minotaur scene as a triumph of man over death. The stylistic similarities between the episode of

Herakles and Kerberos and that of Theseus and the Minotaur enhance such a possibility and suggest that Theseus also functioned as a model for the deceased to follow in the labyrinth of the afterlife, making the subject appropriate for a funerary offering. The rest of the deeds could be viewed as a paradigm of courage and success, set by a famous hero.

The young hero was predominantly a symbol of Athens, and his multiple appearances on the Codrus Painter's cup can be understood as a trademark of his city. Not only does the kylix show the Athenian hero overpowering his enemies repeatedly, but its style reflects contemporary works of sculpture produced in Athens. One could not have asked for a better advertisement for the city and its traditions than the Theseus cup. The owner of such cup advertised his own knowledge of Athenian culture and his potential connection to the Greek city.

6.4 CONSULTING THE ORACLE: THE THEMIS CUP

The Themis cup by the Codrus Painter is undoubtedly one of the most intriguing red-figure vases of the Parthenonian period, discovered in the Etruscan necropolis of Vulci (cat. 17).¹²⁵ Its famous tondo shows two figures named with inscriptions: Aigeus and Themis (pl. 8a). Aigeus is depicted as a bearded man with a laurel wreath, leaning on his staff. Dressed in a himation that leaves bare the upper part of his body and folds under his left arm, he gazes at Themis, who is seated exactly across from him on a high tripod. She concentrates her gaze on the phiale in her left hand, while with the right she holds a laurel-branch. She wears a chiton and a himation that covers the back of her head, a necklace, and earrings. The two figures are separated by a Doric column that supports a fine decorated architrave with metopes and triglyphs, while the ground line has a downward inclination—altogether, a rather simple illustration of the Delphic Oracle.¹²⁶

This is the only depiction of Aigeus at Delphi, and even though one would expect the Pythia sitting in the tripod, Themis' presence should come as no surprise, since she is the daughter of Ge and the Oracle's second owner in order of succession, according to Aeschylus (*Eum.* 1–8). She is also Zeus's second wife after Metis, and in Homer she is responsible for convening and dissolving assemblies. Pausanias (5.14.10) reports that there was an altar of Themis at the sanctuary of Ge in Olympia and a sanctuary of Themis on the South Slope of the Acropolis.¹²⁷ François Lissarrague argues that the scene should not be interpreted as the installation of Themis at the Delphic Oracle but instead as a version of the mythical history of Athens, with Aigeus consulting the Oracle about his heirs. His view is challenged by Shapiro, who highlights Themis' strong connection with the sanctuary.¹²⁸

Everything in this picture intensifies the idea of waiting:

Themis' gaze and gestures, Aigeus' posture, and the lack of movement. Although unattested in any of the ancient literary testimonia, Themis' gazing into the phiale has previously been interpreted as an illustration of a special form of divination known as *katoptromanteia*, *lekanomanteia*, or *hydromanteia*. Alternatively, it can be considered a sign of concentration, and the phiale seen as a vessel to hold water from the Castalian spring.¹²⁹

In order to better understand this scene, three factors should be taken into consideration, starting with the production of *Medea* in 431. Shapiro made a strong case connecting Euripides' play with the cup by the Codrus Painter, suggesting that Medea's own words may have resulted in the depiction of the Pythia with the name of Themis.¹³⁰ Second, as a deity presiding over assemblies and providing correct advice, Themis not only oversaw civic and legal aspects of the city but also enjoyed a religious role, including worship in her sanctuary on the South Slope of the Acropolis (Paus. 1.22.1). Lastly, another site of the cult of Themis was Troezen (Paus. 2.31.5). Since this is also the starting point of Theseus' journey, it is not hard to draw connections between the young hero, his father, and Themis.¹³¹ Having all this in mind, one may interpret the presence of Themis on the cup as a personification of what we might call the voice of the citizen body, advising Aigeus (as she did in the past with Zeus and Poseidon) about the dangers that his future marriage will bring. As it turned out, Aigeus did not understand the Oracle of Apollo, and not only did he end up with a son, Theseus, but he ignored Themis' warning about his next union, with Medea.¹³²

Alternatively, the scene could be associated with the Athenian account of the moment when Pythia/Themis chose the names of the eponymous heroes of Athens, the ten tribal heroes of Kleisthenes. This would account well for the presence of Aigeus and the substitution of Themis for the Pythia, since the request did not involve private consultation but was a formal political act to legitimize the new social order by allotting names to the ten Attic tribes. Etymologically, her name is related to *themistes*, the "legal advice" that was highly respected and clearly understood, in contrast to ambiguous prophecies that came out of the Pythia's mouth.¹³³

The exterior of the Themis cup depicts on one side a hunting scene in which four men join efforts to capture a deer. An inscription names the man with a club as Peleus (pl. 8b). The Codrus Painter created a balanced composition, placing the figures both in front and in back of the deer in a nearly circular arrangement, thus giving an illusion of depth.¹³⁴ By setting the figures with petasoi and spears at the extreme ends in full frontal and full back view, he directs our eyes to the center of the scene, where two men simultaneously raise their clubs to hit the deer. The stance of one hunter recalls the famous pose of Harmodios.

The Codrus Painter used dilute glaze for the skin of the deer and a variety of attributes for each figure, so that they all maintain their individuality while at the same time functioning as a group. Even though there is no inscription that identifies King Acastus or any indication of centaurs, I think that one can still associate this hunting scene with the deer hunt that would have cost Peleus his life had he not been saved by Chiron.

A similar arrangement of figures is found on side B (pl. 8c), which depicts the Kalydonian boar hunt with Meleager as the protagonist, as an inscription informs us. It is interesting to note the minute execution of the boar's hide and musculature. The hunters, all beardless with the possible exception of the lost fourth figure behind the boar, look as if they are surrounding the animal before they strike the final blow.

In an attempt to find a unifying theme for all three scenes, Karl Schefold notes the excessive use of clubs by the hunters, a weapon used mainly by two heroes, Herakles and Theseus, and approaches the images through an Athenian perspective. Since the sources mention Theseus among the hunters of the Kalydonian boar, the Codrus Painter may imply here that the Athenian hero was by Meleager's side, even though he is not clearly named on the Themis cup. Peleus, Meleager, and other hunters needed the assistance of Theseus, and on some occasions they even appropriated one of his weapons, the club.¹³⁵

In the past Friedrich Hauser associated the hunting scenes on the exterior with Polygnotos and Mikon and compared the stances and the arrangement of the figures on the Themis cup to similar illustrations on other vases depicting the Dioskouroi among the hunters. Even though he is right to observe that the absence of linear setting and the three-dimensional representation echo prototypes from monumental painting, associating the Themis cup specifically with the work of Polygnotos and Mikon in the Anakeion is unfounded, since Pausanias (1.18.1–2) mentions only two paintings: one by Polygnotos depicting the wedding of the Dioskouroi to the Leukippides, and another by Mikon showing the Argonauts.¹³⁶ It is, of course, not improbable that the three scenes on the Themis cup are based on larger prototypes; the combination of two hunting scenes with the encounter of Aigeus and Themis may even have been prompted by the proximity of the original monumental paintings, displayed in a conspicuous location.¹³⁷ Nonetheless, there is no direct evidence linking the scenes on the Themis cup to specific monumental paintings, even though the hunting scene must reflect a larger well-known prototype, since a remarkably similar composition is found on the late fourth-century pebble mosaic of Gnosis at Pella.¹³⁸

Instead, I would like to offer an alternative reading of the scenes, with the focus of interpretation on Themis and

her warnings rather than the powerful heroes. I believe that the common thread of all three episodes is drawn from the prophecies of Themis and the destinies of the figures involved. For Peleus, Themis foresaw the birth of an offspring who would surpass his own glory, a statement fully proven by the birth of Achilles. Similarly for Aigeus, Themis (alias Pythia) warned him of the complications that would follow from his next sexual union with Aithra, but the king of Athens failed to understand, and consequently Theseus was born. Lastly, the three Moirai, daughters of Themis and Zeus, predicted that Meleager would live for as long as a brand will keep on burning—a bittersweet sign of the hero's strength and vulnerability that was ultimately used against him by his own mother.

Choosing characteristic episodes from the lives of the two heroes—the deer hunt with King Acastus that nearly cost Peleus' life and the famous Kalydonian boar hunt that eventually resulted in Meleager's death—the Codrus Painter implies a similar fate for the hero of the tondo scene, Aigeus. Theseus did outshine his father (as Achilles' deeds overshadowed Peleus), but he also caused him to commit suicide by falling into the Aegean Sea.

In general, hunting scenes were appropriate for an aristocratic environment, and especially well-suited to decorate the cup of a male symposiast. Hunting big animals was seen as a manly, aristocratic activity that required and proved one's bravery and skills, akin to warfare. It was probably these connotations that rendered the vase appealing in Etruria, while the scene of Themis gazing into a phiale must have resonated with the Etruscan interest in augury.¹³⁹ Their special interest in prophetic techniques may also explain why the Themis cup was ultimately purchased in Etruria (see also p. 70 in chapter 12).

6.5 A THEBAN MYTH AS A PLATFORM FOR ATHENIAN

IDEALS: THE BASEL CUP

One of the most important cups by the Codrus Painter, housed today in Basel, eloquently illustrates our painter's preference for mythological subjects that promote the notion of Athenian autochthony and supremacy (cat. 15, pl. 9).¹⁴⁰ The cup dates to around 430–425 and has been partly restored. The exterior depicts warriors in heroic nudity and women in elaborate drapery, including fringed shoulder cloths, colorful headbands, and multi-pleated textiles. Each side has five figures, originally identifiable by inscriptions.¹⁴¹

The tondo shows a young warrior standing in an elegant pose with his right hand on his waist and the left holding a spear (pl. 9a). The traveler's attributes—pilos, chlamys, and sandals—indicate that he is about to set off on a mission or a journey (or has just returned from one). A faint inscription helps us identify him as Theseus.¹⁴² He is talking with a woman named Argeia; she wears a peplos and

may have once carried a branch in her right hand, a sign of supplication. Some scholars have suggested that originally she had a veil, possibly alluding to marriage.¹⁴³

Side A of the exterior depicts three young men and two women, all arranged paratactically (pl. 9b). Most of them gesture in a lively manner while witnessing the presentation of baby Aias to Telamon, who is placed in the middle of the scene. With a spear in hand, he faces a woman in a revealing peplos named Eriboia,¹⁴⁴ who carefully holds in her hands what seems to be a baby wrapped in cloth,¹⁴⁵ an interpretation that led to the identification of the scene with the presentation of Aias to his father.¹⁴⁶

Behind Eriboia stands an unidentified youth¹⁴⁷ with a himation, a staff, and a sword hanging in its sheath, who observes the scene that develops in front of him. The last two figures on this side are a woman and a youth, whose name was restored by Ernst Berger as Manténios, associated with *Manto*, *manteion*, or Mantinea. Berger points out further that this name is probably of non-Greek origin.¹⁴⁸

On side B we have more or less the same setting (pl. 9c). A young man with a spear is placed in the middle and identified by Berger as Alkmaion, son of Amphiaraos.¹⁴⁹ He raises his right hand in surprise, witnessing the epiphany of the god Apollo, wrapped in a long himation that barely leaves his left hand and feet visible. He is easily recognized by his laurel branch and the laurel wreath that adorns his hair.¹⁵⁰ Behind him a youth with a mantle named Neanias observes the scene; his presence here may also have a topographic reference, as we shall see below.¹⁵¹ Thersandros is the name of the figure on the far right. This hero from the Theban cycle is shown leaning on his staff, carrying a mantle and sword; a thin band crowns his head.¹⁵² He shakes hands with a woman whose identity is difficult to guess. Scholars have so far provided us with three possibilities: Eriphyle, Demonassa, and Manto.¹⁵³

According to the myth Thersandros gave to Eriphyle the peplos of Harmonia in order to persuade her son, Alkmaion, to join the second generation of the Seven to take action. Schefold believes that there was a connection between the figure of Alkmaion and the clan of the Alkmaionids in Athens and presumes that the Codrus Painter deliberately chose this scene in order to link the most famous Athenian family to an epic event, treating it as a parallel to the participation of Telamon and Aias in the Trojan cycle.¹⁵⁴

The Basel cup has triggered lively discussion among scholars, who have tried to associate it with a play that involved either episodes from the Theban cycle or an embassy to Apollo regarding childbearing, based on the popularity of this subject in contemporary plays, such as Euripides' *Ion*. For example, we know that Aeschylus wrote a Theban tetralogy consisting of *Laïos*, *Oedipus*, *Seven against Thebes*, and the satyr play *Sphinx* in 467,¹⁵⁵ while

Euripides' *Suppliants*, produced around 423, has been suggested as a possible source of influence. According to the plot, Argeia, the wife of Polyneikes, goes to Athens to ask Theseus for help during the attack of the Epigones against Thebes.¹⁵⁶ In the end, Theseus agrees to help her bury the dead near Eleusis.¹⁵⁷ However, Berger believes that Argeia on the Basel cup reflects the chorus leader of a lost tragedy by Aeschylus, *Argive Women* (or *Men*).¹⁵⁸ Even though it is hard to pinpoint the influence of a particular play behind the scenes represented on the Basel cup, the plot of the *Suppliants* appears more plausible. It seems as if the whole cup was painted as an illustration of the arguments that Argeia used to persuade Theseus to help the Epigones against Thebes: one side depicts previous examples of successful interventions, while the other describes the situation before the attack on Thebes. One should also take into account the possibility that the source of the cup's inspiration may lie in a monumental painting.¹⁵⁹

The myth of Argeia and the Seven against Thebes is often examined in relation to contemporary events, such as the refusal of the Argives to return the dead soldiers to the Athenians after the battle of Delion in 424.¹⁶⁰ The people of Athens are represented on the Basel cup by their most popular hero, the one responsible for the first *synoikismos* and the organization of Athens. A male figure of power is paired with Argeia, a woman, symbol of weakness and need. The king of Athens is about to show his kindness and determination to support Thebes; at the same time, Athens is represented as a superpower of its time, with the authority of an arbiter. This was neither the first nor the last time that Athens got involved in the political life of another city.¹⁶¹

Kron suggests a different approach: an "Attic interpretation" of the scene. Focusing on Neanias, brother of Oinoe and local hero at Rhamnous, she explains his presence as a topographic reference to the site where Athenian ephebes were stationed, and therefore a symbol of the armed forces of Athens. The rest of the figures are identified with heroes of the Marathonian Tetrapolis. Based on this premise, she proposes a different restoration of M..NTENIOΣ, associating M.. with the name of the following female figure and suggesting the name YTTHNIOΣ (Hytténios) for the youth—Hytténia being another name for the Tetrapolis.¹⁶² However, the arrangement of the letters, the rarity of such a name, and the unconventionality of using a male figure to personify the four poleis are all counterarguments against this suggestion.¹⁶³

Returning to side A of the Basel cup (pl. 9b), one needs to be reminded of how the myth of Telamon was appropriated by the Athenians to function as an example of the city's heroic past. Exiled from Aegina and settling on Salamis with his wife, Eriboia, a princess from Megara, Telamon was considered an Athenian hero. The myth illustrated on the Basel cup, the presentation of Aias, son

of Telamon, is significant for yet another reason: it portrays Aias, an Athenian hero by appropriation, as a figure proving the legitimacy of the Athenian claim over Salamis. Even though the island was mostly dependent on Megara, the delivery of Aias to Telamon by Eriboia could be interpreted as the Megarian acknowledgment of Athens' possession of Salamis.¹⁶⁴ It should also be noted that Pausanias (1.42.4) mentions a temple of Athena Aiantis at Megara, named after Aias' dedication of the cult statue, which provides another connection of the hero with the cities near Athens, namely Megara and the Tetrapolis, whose people, interestingly enough, belonged to the tribe of Aiantis.¹⁶⁵

Consistent with her Attic reading of the cup, Kron follows a different version of Eriboia's story that identifies her as an Athenian maiden who accompanied Theseus on his trip to Crete and later became his wife (Plut. *Thes.* 29.1). This account led Kron to interpret the scene on the exterior of the Basel cup as the birth of a "bastard of Theseus." However, one should note that the few times that Eriboia is named on vase paintings, she is usually a witness to the departure of Aias. The only case where Eriboia ac-

companies Theseus on his Cretan adventure is on the François krater.¹⁶⁶ To further support her Attic reading, Kron identifies the unnamed woman with Glauke, the first wife of Telamon and daughter of the mythic king of Salamis, Kynchreus,¹⁶⁷ thus including a reference to the island of Salamis in the glorious mythological past of Athens. The version that features Eriboia's marriage to Telamon not only emphasizes the strong links between the Attic regions but demonstrates the flexibility of the Athenian mechanism for promoting heroes who could strengthen the city's image and fortify its alliances.¹⁶⁸

The Codrus Painter used a subject from the Theban cycle to promote Athenian ideals, a tactic common especially among the playwrights.¹⁶⁹ What is illustrated on clay was already carved on stone and cast in metal, and sung and performed on stage.¹⁷⁰ What renders the Basel cup unique is not the originality of the myth but the image's balanced composition and meaningful juxtapositions. The promotion of Athenian heroes and the city's successful history guarantee an even brighter future at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War.

7.1 THE DIVINE BANQUET CUP

The Divine Banquet cup by the Codrus Painter was found in Vulci and is now housed in the British Museum (cat. 3, pl. 10).¹ It depicts five divine couples and two young males, all identified by inscriptions. Side A shows Amphitrite and Poseidon, Hera and Zeus, with Ganymede at the far right (pl. 10a). A column between the two couches almost certainly indicates an interior setting.² The column may also stand for an *oikos* in the sense of a household, since side A represents the two pairs of spouses *par excellence*.

The gods on both sides of the cup are leaning on pillows. An empty table is set by every couch. Except for Ares on side B, they all hold phialai and carry their own attributes. The Codrus Painter took great care to differentiate their hair and beards, giving us a variety of headbands, hairstyles, and wreaths made from ivy, laurel, and myrtle.³ On the left, Amphitrite sits faithfully by Poseidon, who is easily recognized by his trident. She holds an alabastron and a pin to extract perfume from it.⁴ To the right, Zeus carries his scepter and extends his right hand to remove his wife's veil. Ganymede stands by the couch observing the scene with a strainer in his left hand.⁵

Side B presents a similar arrangement, showing Aphrodite and Ares on the left and Ariadne and Dionysos on the right (pl. 10b). With a spear on his shoulder and his phiale on the table, Ares makes room for Aphrodite to sit on the couch. She stands in front of the table holding a pyxis and is about to let her fine chiton loose from her shoulder.⁶ On the other couch, Dionysos reclines, holding a thyrsos and offering a phiale to Ariadne, who sits at the foot of the couch. Komos, as an infibulated satyr, stands near Dionysos' kline.⁷ He has lost almost all his untamed traits and stands as a counterpart to the servant of the Olympian

gods, providing at the same time a direct reference to mortal symposia and the komos.

Finally, in the tondo Plouton holds an empty horn and offers a phiale to his wife, Persephone, who sits on his couch (pl. 10c). Plouton's hair resembles that of Dionysos, and he wears an elaborate myrtle wreath on his head. Persephone makes almost the same gesture as Ariadne as she accepts the phiale. Her feet do not reach the ground, perhaps a suggestive indication of her youth.⁸

After examining the interior and exterior images, it becomes clear that we should treat the scenes on the vase as a unified whole instead of considering each couple in isolation. The gods recline with their partners sitting by their feet at the end of the kline according to the well-known custom of the symposion.⁹ Thomas Carpenter considers Dionysos to be the key to the overall interpretation of the cup. Of the works he mentions, the closest parallel to the Codrus Painter's arrangement of couples is a black-figure amphora in Boston.¹⁰ He also points to the relationship between its imagery and that of the "Totenmahl" reliefs, as he shows the multiple function of the symposion in weddings, funerals, and other gatherings. Ultimately, Carpenter concludes that the Codrus Painter chose to represent the divine couples banqueting because he wanted to surprise the viewer by applying a motif that departed from the usual iconography of the gods.¹¹

Erika Simon compares the Divine Banquet cup to the Roman Göttermahlreliefs and points out that in times of extreme danger or need, special calls for help to the gods took place. It is possible that the cup represents the honors the Athenians bestowed upon the gods when they were seeking their help and benevolence during the plague that struck in the early years of the Peloponnesian War. Simon

interprets the Divine Banquet cup as a very special case of a *theoxenia*, a feast prepared by mortals to be joined by the deities whom they wanted to honor.¹²

Although there are several black- and early red-figure representations of Dionysos and Ariadne together on a couch as well as scenes of gods performing libations, the Codrus Painter's cup deviates from this tradition.¹³ A characteristic example of divine assemblies can be found on the stamnos by Hermonax dated to 460,¹⁴ which depicts Zeus, Hera, and Plouton among other deities. The gods, however, are not presented as banqueters, and the notion of equality and uniformity that usually characterizes the symposium is lacking. Similarly, the psykter-krater by the Troilos Painter in New York, dated to 470,¹⁵ should be viewed as a transitional link between representations of gods performing libations and illustrations of heroic funerary banquets—for example, in honor of Achilles, Herakles, and other heroes—from the fourth century, since it does not faithfully employ the motif of *theoxenia* as it was standardized in the late fifth and early fourth centuries. Although it includes the notion of feasting, the collectivity of the gods is not emphasized as it is on the Codrus Painter's cup, where there is uniformity of poses and arrangement. The scene on the Troilos Painter's psykter-krater clearly emphasizes Dionysos, since its continuous frieze depicts two episodes with the wine god as protagonist: one where he receives a crown from Hera, and one where he enjoys a banquet with Herakles and other deities. The Codrus Painter's cup breaks from this tradition by representing all the gods on an equal footing and thus stressing their significance as a family. Such a notion of divine parity and balance matches the character of the Parthenon and the Nike Temple friezes.

The Divine Banquet cup is not a representation of *theoxenia*, an institution known mainly from epigraphic sources,¹⁶ since it shows none of its assumed characteristics: there is no consumption of food, nor is there the preparation of elaborate klinai that usually anticipates any divine participation in a mortal feast. Also lacking is the indication of specific heroes or deities being honored, as is implied by the meaning of the word *theoxenia*: receiving deities as guests.¹⁷ Instead, the cup presents us with a banquet of democratic parity,¹⁸ similar to those held in Athens, the only difference being that wives are participating instead of hetairai. Zeus and Hera, the royal spouses, face Poseidon and Amphitrite, their marine counterparts. These divine unions set an example for gods and mortals alike.¹⁹ On the other hand, the tondo represents a different married couple: Plouton and his abducted bride, Persephone. Side B introduces yet another aspect of divine marriage—the illegitimate couple. The god of war and strife is notorious for his affair with the wife of Hephaistos,²⁰ while the union of Dionysos and his mortal wife, Ariadne, was the result of Theseus' abandonment of his bride on Naxos.²¹ Overall,

the cup encompasses all sorts of marriages, and the inclusion of Ganymede and Komos may imply other types of unions as well.

François Lissarrague, among other scholars, maintains that the phiale is not the common drinking vessel at symposia, but is rather used for libations, indicating the divine or heroic nature of the figure who holds it.²² If this is true, then one wonders whether the gods are indeed pouring a libation and, if so, to whom. It is preferable to endorse the suggestion of Annie France Laurens, who views the libation as a generic motif that is essential in different kinds of scenes, including the banquet, equal in meaning and significance with the dexiosis motif. She interprets it as a symbol of concord, peace, and solidarity among the Olympian family.²³

The libation delimits the divine world from that of mortals and consolidates the bond among the participants.²⁴ On the Divine Banquet cup, the gods follow a pattern easily recognizable by mortals: creating a united front against Fate. The liminal, almighty Plouton is both among them and set apart by being placed in the tondo. Wine is necessary for all occasions: the libation, the banquet, and the trip to the Underworld.²⁵

Thus, when viewing the Divine Banquet cup our attention is drawn to two gods: Plouton and Dionysos. All the gods on the cup have certain chthonic aspects: for example, Hades/Plouton is interchangeably known as Allos Zeus or Zeus Chthonios; Poseidon as the god of earthquakes shares attributes with Hades; Ares is called Ther(e)itas; while the powers of Dionysos, as Dionysos Zagreus, often extend to the Underworld.²⁶ In Etruria Dionysos was identified with Fufluns, a nature divinity with chthonic associations. The cult of Fufluns Pachies (Dionysos Bacchus) in Vulci, findspot of the Divine Banquet cup, is well attested for the fifth century.²⁷

The sixth-century frieze from Poggio Civitate (Murlo) represents an interesting assembly of gods that could elucidate further the role of Dionysos as a chthonic deity in Etruria. According to the interpretation of Timothy Gantz, one of the frieze plaques depicts two divine triads, Zeus–Athena–Hera and Demeter–Dionysos–Persephone, all sitting next to one another, while Hermes stands at the top of one group and Iris at the top of the other.²⁸ The identification of Dionysos as a complement to Persephone and Demeter strengthens his chthonic character and assimilates him to a Hades-type figure. The rare appearance of Plouton/Hades in Greek art may be partially responsible for his absence from Etruscan art of the Archaic and Classical periods. If this is the case, then the Divine Banquet cup should be viewed as an important source of imagery for perhaps the last god of the Greek pantheon to be adopted by the Etruscans.

The Divine Banquet cup shows distinct similarities with

the so-called Totenmahl reliefs found in Athens and elsewhere in the Greek world, with reliefs and statue-urns from Chiusi, and with other examples from both Etruria and Asia Minor.²⁹ Jean-Marie Dentzer explores the origins and the representation of reclining at banquets and concludes that this practice spread to Greece and Etruria around 600 BCE.³⁰ The Greeks gave a new twist to the motif of the reclining banqueter by formalizing a three-figure pattern: the reclining man, a woman usually seated on a throne, and a youth assisting with the wine.³¹ Originally, this type of funerary banquet was mainly used for representations of heroes; only later did it expand into the iconography of the heroized dead. In the Classical period it had mainly a votive function (as is often attested by an inscription), and around 400 it started assuming a funerary role.³²

The production of Totenmahl reliefs in Athens began around 420, and by the fourth century they had spread all over the Greek world, proving the integral role of the symposium in the iconography of the dead.³³ Oswyn Murray has examined the opposition between death and the symposium in the Greek world, focusing on the social impact that a member's death has on the community. He concluded that the Totenmahl reliefs depict the feast of the heroized dead and at the same time reflect the beliefs of a sect regarding life in the Elysian Fields.³⁴ The single and group symposia in Etruria probably originate from similar beliefs about the afterlife.³⁵

Rhea Thönges-Stringaris rightly points out that the representation of the women sitting by the feet of the gods, as we see on the Divine Banquet cup, is a motif that will eventually appear at a later date on relief sculpture. One is led to assume either that the Codrus Painter was ahead of his time in this respect or that the Totenmahl motif originated not in a pre-existing work of sculpture but perhaps in a lost wall painting.³⁶

Perhaps the closest parallel to the scene depicted on the Divine Banquet cup is a Totenmahl relief from Piraeus that Dentzer dates around 420.³⁷ It depicts a divine/heroic couple sharing a kline, a table with fruit in front of them. This relief provides the evidence for an iconographic motif that might not have been popular, but was not unknown in the second half of the fifth century in Athens. Therefore, the Divine Banquet cup does not stand alone, since it appears to have incorporated an arrangement of divine couples used mainly for the (cult) representations of heroic figures. The chthonic aspect of the heroic/divine banquet motif appears to have been an element that the Codrus Painter wanted to stress by representing the divine couples in company with Persephone and Hades. Although he created an assembly of gods similar to the one found on the Parthenon frieze,³⁸ the desire to include Persephone in this gathering meant that the iconographic frame had to change. The best way to combine the Olympians with the

gods of the Underworld seems to have been the heroic banquet. As a result, the Divine Banquet cup is closer to the iconographic tradition of (mostly non-Attic) fifth-century votive banquet reliefs, where wine-pourers (*oinochooi*) and nude youths are often depicted, but no worshippers.

The Parthenon frieze was a public monument, a collective dedication to Athena, while the Divine Banquet cup should be viewed as a gift to the gods on a more personal level. The Codrus Painter combined the heroic banquet motif with the monumentalized Parthenonian version of divine assemblies.³⁹ The point of interest on the frieze was the peplos scene, which takes place in the center; on the Codrus Painter's cup the focus lies on the couple depicted in the tondo, Plouton and Persephone, thus enhancing the notion of marriage and death that unites the cup.

Since the study of the Divine Banquet cup within its Etruscan context has been undertaken elsewhere, observations on funerary banquets in Etruria and the way in which local customs influence the interpretation of the kylix will be limited.⁴⁰ Several banquet scenes, such as the relief plaques from Poggio Civitate and the reliefs from Chiusi, dated from the end of the sixth to the middle of the fifth century, are comparable to the cup, even though they predate it.⁴¹ The symposia illustrated on contemporary Greek cups provided the basic guidelines for Etruscan artists, who enriched their representations of banquets with details more familiar to them, such as the lebes underneath the kline, Etruscan garments, and the presence of women.⁴²

Funerary banquets were a common practice among the Etruscans, and the Divine Banquet on the cup was probably interpreted as such once it found its way to Etruria. The deceased, as a new Persephone, enjoyed the wine libation offered by his/her family, as in the scene depicted on the cup. Similar beliefs that the gods accompany the deceased may be deduced from the decoration of Etruscan cistae and mirrors: for example, the bronze mirror in Brussels showing Fufluns, Athena, and Artemis, the last-named carrying a soul.⁴³ Etruscan women seem to have accompanied male family members at banquets, including, probably, those that took place at the tomb.⁴⁴ Illustrating this activity helped to perpetuate it. Dionysos' associations with fertility, death, and immortality are prominent in the rituals of his *thiasoi*.⁴⁵ The Etruscans' gatherings recall assemblies of gods, such as those depicted in vase paintings when they welcome a new member into the Olympian family.⁴⁶ The Divine Banquet cup would have helped to comfort the relatives of the deceased by suggesting that he or she will be well received in the Underworld, as the divine family rejoices with Persephone.

A Greek viewer would have reached a similar conclusion. According to Artemidoros (*Oneirocritica* 5.82.7), the Greeks believed not only that the deceased was present during the *perideipnon*, the dinner held at the deceased's house

after the funeral, but that he was actually hosting it. Relatives wearing garlands delivered eulogies or even performed songs in honor of the dead member of their community. The living and the dead took part in this banquet for one last time in common—in contrast to the meals prepared at the tomb, which were not joined by the living for fear of placing themselves under the spell of the Underworld spirits. With the end of the *perideipnon*, the period of uncertainty regarding the deceased's soul ceased, and Hades accepted him.⁴⁷

The role of the family in funeral rites and the notion of its reunion in the afterlife are found for the first time in literature in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* (1555), where Clytemnestra describes how her husband will be received by his daughter Iphigeneia in Hades. The Greek word for funeral, *kedeia*, was also used to define an alliance, a contract, or a connection by marriage.⁴⁸ Tragedy may also help explain the figure of Komos on the Divine Banquet cup, since this word signifies not only revelry, but also formal lamentation (Arist. *Poet.* 1452b.18). The kylix by the Codrus Painter may be better explained as signifying a family's mourning for the loss of a member.

The Divine Banquet cup offers a good opportunity for a multiple approach to its interpretation. The painter used the Olympian family as a model of a family uniting after a funeral, while at the same time he applied the familiar motif of the heroic banquet in order to clearly designate their higher status. Just as the gods partake in the banquet of Plouton and Persephone, so too will the mortals organize the postfuneral feast. The Divine Banquet cup was not purchased in Etruria merely because it was a pretty vase from Athens, but rather because it was decorated with a scene that could be identified with Etruscan beliefs and practices—even though there is no way to know whether the Codrus Painter had prospective Etruscan buyers in mind.

7.2 LOCAL DEITIES: THE BRAURON CUP

The fragmentary kylix known as the Brauron cup is one of the few works by the Codrus Painter found in Greece—specifically, in the sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia in Attica (cat. 20, pl. 11). The tondo shows a woman (probably of mature age) wearing a heavy peplos and holding a scepter (pl. 11a). She makes a conversational gesture toward another woman, who could be younger, judging from her long peplos with pointed, zigzag motifs and a peculiar girding at the waist.⁴⁹ She wears a bracelet on each arm and crossbands across her chest, which, according to the study of L. J. Roccas, are usually worn by young women of marriageable age and symbolize their potential fertility.⁵⁰

The exterior of the cup preserves only a palmette and the lower parts of three figures (pl. 11b). The first is a standing male wrapped in a mantle with a zigzag pattern, who was identified by Beazley as Apollo because of the laurel branch that blooms from his staff. To the right are the feet of a second figure facing left and the lower part of a figure (female?) in a chiton and mantle, who moves to the right while holding a scepter in the right hand. If the identification of the scepter is correct, then this is either a royal figure or, more plausibly, another deity.⁵¹

When Beazley attributed this cup to the Codrus Painter, he identified the maternal figure in the tondo as Demeter and the second woman as Persephone. The “orientalizing” zigzag motifs of her drapery, however, and the crossbands seem more fitting for Artemis than for the queen of the Underworld. The fact that the cup was found in the sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia makes this interpretation even more appealing. Under this premise, one could further suggest the identification of the mature woman with Leto, whose cult is attested in Brauron, especially after comparing this figure to a remarkably similar one on the Relief of the Gods from Brauron.⁵² Based on the above observations, the estimated age of both figures, and the cup's findspot, we may read the joint depiction of the two goddesses as a symbol of two stages in a woman's life. Taking into account the initiation rites of *arkteia* that took place in Brauron, one can interpret the tondo scene as a juxtaposition of the domain of Artemis (birth, virginity, education) to that of Leto (maturation, motherhood).⁵³

Artemis was undeniably a very important goddess for the Athenians, whom she assisted in the Persian Wars.⁵⁴ The origins of her cult can be traced, according to the Attic tradition, to mythical times, when Orestes and Iphigenia returned the *xoanon* of Artemis Tauropolos to Brauron and not to the Orthia sanctuary in Sparta.⁵⁵

Even in a fragmentary state, the Brauron cup seems to be decorated with the typical paratactic model found on many cups by the Codrus Painter. The sherds preserved today indicate a pairing of female deities in the tondo, while the exterior hints at the depiction of gods and local heroes.⁵⁶ Even though the cup was found in a suburban Attic sanctuary, one should still point out its significance for the maturation of Attic women, since serving as an *arktos* was a notable Athenian rite of passage for the female population. Having said that, I would like to suggest that we treat this vase painting not so much as a purely female subject but rather in terms of the promotion of a characteristically Athenian institution. In this light, the topic of the Brauron cup fits better into the typically Attic repertory of the Codrus Painter.

8.1 THE TRITON CUP

One of the less well known cups by the Codrus Painter was found in the Etruscan necropolis of Spina (cat. 18, pl. 14).¹ The tondo is decorated with an interesting pair of marine figures: Poseidon and Triton (pl. 14a). Poseidon, wearing a mantle and a wreath on his long hair, leans against his trident as he converses with his son, Triton.² The fish-tailed god has a scepter and a crown as his attributes and is dressed in an elaborate short chiton. Both figures stand on a line that is incongruent with the marine environment they symbolize. This should not come as a surprise, since the Codrus Painter rarely illustrates landscape elements.

Poseidon and Triton are often depicted in larger groups, as for example on an earlier kylix in New York by the Bri-seis Painter (480–470 BCE) or the calyx krater by the Kadmos Painter in Bologna (420),³ where they act as subsidiary figures in representations of Theseus' visit to the depths of the sea. In the case of the Triton cup, it seems as if the protagonist was left out of the picture.⁴

We know from the literary sources (e.g., Hdt. 4.179) that Triton was a half-human half-fish marine divinity and a gifted prophet. He helped Poseidon during the Gigantomachy and in several of his amorous adventures, while he is also said to have shown the Argonauts the route to Colchis.

The exterior of the Triton cup represents a departure of warriors. Five figures, three in military gear, are depicted on side A (pl. 14b): the warrior on the extreme left carries a shield with a star device and awaits his two fellow warriors, one of whom shakes hands (*dexiosis*) with an older man,⁵ while the second makes a libation assisted by a woman. In contrast to the previous warriors, the latter wears sandals and a petasos and holds two spears instead of one. The same atmosphere pervades the other side of the cup

(pl. 14c). The figure on the left offers a helmet to another warrior, who carries a shield with the same star device as the one on side A, perhaps indicating that he is the same figure or a member of the same tribe.⁶ Further to the right, a woman prepares a libation for a third warrior, who is escorted by an older male figure who walks with the help of a stick.

The lack of inscriptions initially suggests a generic departure scene. However, if we take into consideration the presence of Triton in the tondo, the warriors on the exterior of the cup may be identified with the Argonauts. According to Herodotus (4.179–188), before Jason set sail for Colchis he tried to reach the Oracle of Delphi, but the *Argo* was carried away at Cape Maleas and stranded at Lake Tritonis in Libya. There the river god Triton came to their rescue, and after claiming the tripod that Jason was to dedicate at Delphi, he showed them the way and foresaw the building of a hundred Greek cities around the lake.

The name of Jason can be suggested for the only figure with sandals among the six warriors. He is holding two spears, as the myth describes, while the woman assisting him with a libation is probably his mother, Polymele. The rest of the figures can be potentially identified with other important Argonauts: for example, the pair consisting of an old man greeting a young warrior with a sword, set prominently in the center of the cup, may be recognized as Theseus and his father, Aigeus, Athenian figures whom the Codrus Painter used frequently. The starry devices on the two warriors' shields allude to the Dioskouroi and the help of the sky in the orientation of the Argonauts.⁷ The Argonaut Euphemos, son of Poseidon, is also associated with Triton, and may be identified with the first warrior on side B. According to Apollonios (*Argon.* 4.1732–1745), he received from Triton in his dreams a clod of earth with extra-

ordinary prophetic qualities, which foretold the foundation of Cyrene.⁸ As for the last three figures on the exterior of the cup, a man and a woman pouring a libation along with a young warrior, one can suggest the names of Kynchreus, Periboia, and Telamon, respectively. Kynchreus, king of Salamis, welcomed Telamon to his island and offered him his daughter, Periboia, in marriage. Since Telamon was a hero appropriated by Athens (cf. the subject of the Basel cup, cat. 15, pl. 9b), his presence in a departure scene by the side of other great heroes is not too improbable. If this reading of the scene is correct, we have one more example of a vase painting where the Codrus Painter shifts the focus of a seemingly non-Athenian myth toward local Attic heroes.

The subject of the Argonautic campaign was popular in monumental painting, and Pausanias (1.18.1–2, 8.11.3) reports that one of Mikon's works depicted Jason and other Argonauts and that the figure of Akamas and his horses received special attention. At least one other cup by the Codrus Painter, the Phrixos cup in Florence (cat. 4, pl. 15a–c), seems to have been inspired by the legend of the *Argo* and possibly by a larger prototype.⁹

Last, if the figure of Triton is indeed associated with Libya, then we have one more parameter to take into consideration. Libya was not unknown to Athens.¹⁰ Soon after the battle of Eurymedon, the Athenians assisted the Egyptians against the Persians, but by 454 the Egyptian expedition had ended tragically for them. In the meantime, the tyrant of Cyrene, Arkesilaos IV (470–440), invited colonists from Greece in an unsuccessful attempt to strengthen his reign. The Athenians accepted his call and found refuge in Cyrene. Scholars have linked the increase of democratic power in the city with the presence of the Athenians and the general tendency following the Persian Wars to establish democratic states. It is interesting to note that during the Peloponnesian War, Cyrene, even though a Doric city, remained as neutral as possible because of its strong commercial bonds with Athens.¹¹

These observations suggest that the figures on the Codrus Painter's cup were not randomly chosen. The Triton cup presents the god of the sea with one of his sons; they both refer to the sea routes and, through their relationship to Theseus, are symbols of the supremacy of the Athenian alliance. Both figures stand on solid ground with wreaths of victory on their heads, celebrating the missions of the Athenian warriors, who as new Argonauts have dared to sail to the farthest sites to promote their city.¹²

8.2 THE PHRIXOS CUP

The tondo of a fragmentary cup in Florence represents Phrixos (ΦΡΙΞΟΣ) on the golden ram flying over the sea, which is symbolized by a fish at the bottom of the picture (cat. 4, pl. 15a).¹³ Although the exact details of his pose are difficult to distinguish on this cup, Phrixos must have been

holding the ram's horn with his left hand, as is the case in other examples, such as a Melian relief in the Metropolitan Museum, dated around the middle of the fifth century.¹⁴

Phrixos and Helle were the children of Nephele and Athamas, king of Boeotian Orchomenos. The king's second wife, Ino, persuaded Athamas to sacrifice his children in order to bring an end to the land's sterility (*aphoria*). To save her children, Nephele sent a golden ram, a gift of Hermes, which Phrixos and Helle used to escape to either Aia or Colchis. On the way, Helle fell off the ram, and the sea near the Bosphorus was thereafter called the Hellespontus after her. After his successful landing, Phrixos offered the ram to Zeus Phyxios and then bequeathed the golden fleece to King Aietes. The popularity of this legend is reflected in the numerous artworks illustrating it, while fragments of a tragedy by Euripides are also thought to treat this very myth.¹⁵

The exterior of the Phrixos cup shows the departure of Castor and Polydeukes ([ΠΙ]ΟΛΥΔΕΥΚΕΣ). Side A (pl. 15b) is composed of six fragments and depicts Leda (ΛΕΔΑ), beside a horse, offering a phiale for libation to Castor, while Polydeukes holds a spear and the reins of his horse as he turns toward his father, Tyndareos ([ΤΥΝΔΑ]ΠΕΟΣ).¹⁶ Unfortunately, the other side of the cup is quite fragmentary, and the dispersal of the pieces among four museums renders its study even more difficult (pl. 15c). However, one can still discern a bearded male standing in front of a Doric column, and behind him a female figure holding two phialai.¹⁷ At the extreme right, near the palmette decoration, another female is partially preserved. She lifts the overfold of her peplos over her shoulder and brings her right hand to her chest. This gesture suggests modesty, surprise, and occasionally embarrassment in front of a divinity; it is a frequent motif in scenes involving the epiphany of gods, rituals, or even situations whose outcome is hard to explain or difficult to foresee, as in the case of the distress caused by the departure of loved ones. As the gesture can also be read as symbolizing a spousal bond, one wonders whether the women other than Leda can be identified as the Leukippides, wives of the Dioskouroi.¹⁸ Last, traces of a horse's tail are still visible to the right; the animal was probably led by another youth, now lost.¹⁹

The association of Phrixos with the Argonauts and the Golden Fleece enhances the interpretation of the exterior as the departure of the Dioskouroi on their way to join the rest of the Greek heroes. It is no coincidence that Phrixos is depicted in the tondo of the cup, since his means of escape eventually became the reason for Jason's quest.²⁰ In addition, the myth states that King Pelias was haunted by the ghost of Phrixos, so that his decision to send Jason to fetch the Golden Fleece would both pacify the spirit and save him from having to kill his own nephew.

The presence of the Laconian brothers on the Phrixos

cup can be seen as an Athenian twist on the myth: at the dawn of the Peloponnesian War, even the most traditional Spartan heroes are claimed for Athens,²¹ despite the conflict caused by the abduction of their sister by Theseus.²² Thuri Lorenz is right to see the Dioskouroi functioning as demi-gods outside the Peloponnese, being worshipped not only as Spartan horsemen-heroes, but also as Attic heroes. The Dioskouroi were introduced into Athens through the *theoxenia* and gradually joined the pantheon of heroes there, as Herakles did.²³

The Dioskouroi were not only famous warriors but also protectors of sailors,²⁴ and the earliest references to them as divinities associated with the sea and seafaring date to around 430.²⁵ Furthermore, they were models for youths training for war, and in this respect similar to their Athenian counterparts, Akamas and Damophon. According to the Athenian tradition, Menestheus was a friend and ally of the Dioskouroi, and the *Iliad* mentions both him and the sons of Theseus as being side by side in the Trojan Horse and during the return to Athens. Based on this information, it is tempting to recognize the representation on the other side of the Phrixos cup as the departure of either Akamas or Damophon.²⁶

A major naval power such as Athens that aimed to control the trading routes from Egypt to the Black Sea, and from Asia Minor to Magna Graecia, certainly needed all the gods and heroes on its side.²⁷ Phrixos stands as a symbol of the dangerous sea route to the Euxinus Pontus, and the ram as symbol of the land of plenty. Pericles foresaw the importance of this region and gradually increased the Athenian presence there after the Persian Wars. According to Plutarch (*Per.* 20), he sailed the Black Sea in 437, and his journey strengthened the sense of security for the local Greek population. This resulted in a number of Athenian cleruchies and at the same time opened new markets to the flourishing Athenian trade.²⁸ In these circumstances it comes as little surprise to have scenes inspired by the Argonautic cycle decorating not only public monuments but also modest vases, such as the Phrixos cup.

8.3 THE CASSANDRA CUP

Although the myth of Aias and Cassandra was not as popular in Classical art as it was in the Archaic period,²⁹ the Codrus Painter depicted the Trojan princess's rape on a kylix now in the Louvre (cat. 19, pl. 16). The tondo shows her seeking refuge at the cult statue of Athena, while Lokrian Aias grabs her by the hand. Inscriptions identify the protagonists (pl. 16a).³⁰ The statue of Athena is set frontally on a pedestal,³¹ and its rigidity stands in vivid contrast to the kneeling seminude figure of Cassandra, whose three-quarter face is one of the most expressive ever drawn by the Codrus Painter. The way both figures cast their eyes on the statue of Athena, as if waiting for a sign that would

reveal her favor, gives a sense of enormous tension to the composition.³²

The exterior of the Cassandra cup is decorated with a generic departure scene. On side A we find three warriors with two women assisting in libations (pl. 16c). On side B there is another set of three warriors, two in conversation and a third one in the company of an older male, while a woman at the extreme right carries equipment for a libation (pl. 16b).³³ What is interesting in both scenes is the variety of the figures' positions and the combinations of dress. The Codrus Painter represented the male figure in different poses: solemn and static, yet revealing of musculature and anatomical details, some naked, others barely covered by a mantle, with a single bearded man modestly dressed in a long himation. They lean on spears or a stick in relaxed poses as they converse with other figures or participate in a libation. Shown from all angles (three-quarters front and back, profile, front), the male bodies present a sharp contrast with the females, who are not only fewer in number but also lack the variety of figure-types. Here and on other cups, the women are usually shown holding libation equipment, striking the same poses with almost no variation. For our painter, the exposure of male musculature was far more intriguing than illustrating a *peplophoros*.

The role of women is secondary—not only thematically, as they assist the departing men, but also iconographically.³⁴ This contrast between male and female is most visible in the tondo, where the scene may stand as an example of behavior that ought to be avoided by the departing warriors, an act of impiety that does not befit the heroic model. Alternatively, one may place the interior and exterior scenes within the larger frame of the Trojan War and suggest a heroic departure of warriors for Troy, one of the most brutal wars ever described by poets. Such a provocative decoration would also aim to invoke parallels with the upcoming Peloponnesian War and remind the viewer of the wrongdoings that occur in such conflicts.

The cup's Etruscan buyers were probably familiar with episodes from the Trojan War by the second half of the fifth century. The dramatic character of the tondo composition would have been to their liking, judging by the longevity of this motif: see, for example, a fourth-century bronze mirror from Cerveteri where the protagonists are now Menelaos (Menle) and Helen (Elinaï), and Aias (Aivas) has been reduced to an onlooker.³⁵

8.4 THE ASTARITA CUP

A typical feature of the Codrus Painter's style is the paratactic arrangement of his figures, which resonates with relief compositions on stone monuments. The relation to, if not the dependence on, relief prototypes becomes even more evident when the subject decorating a cup can be as-

sociated with contemporary sculpted relief bases, as in the case of the fragmentary kylix from the Astarita Collection (cat. 10A, pl. 17).³⁶

Even though only four fragments survive (A–D), the figures and the inscriptions naming them provide adequate information for a discussion of the scene (pl. 17). On fragment A a white-haired man wearing a himation and a wreath on his head leans on a staff.³⁷ To the left, an inscription clearly identifies Leda, while two more names at the right are easily reconstructed as Athena and Prometheus. Fragment B depicts part of a male figure leaning on a staff and making a conversational gesture toward the second figure on the fragment, a partly preserved woman with a peplos. Even though Beazley initially considered this piece a continuation of fragment A, he later concluded that they do not join and expressed doubts about whether fragment B preserved parts of Prometheus and Athena. After personal inspection, however, I believe that we should identify the female figure on fragment B with Athena on account of the snaky aegis, which is pulled sideways and was once decorated with additional white color. This part of Athena is preserved on Beazley's fragment C, which he misinterpreted as part of a female figure in motion with an open hand, confusing the snakes of Athena's aegis with palm and fingers.³⁸ Fragment D probably does not belong to the same half of the cup as fragment A. It depicts a woman named Peitho running to the right with her hand extended out to the opposite side. Preserved on the far left is part of a male head whose animal ears help us identify him as Pan. Beazley interpreted the traces of an object between the two figures as a pelt held by Pan, and he believed that the god was represented grasping his head in surprise.³⁹

Shapiro associated two more fragments from the Astarita collection with this cup, which ultimately led to a different interpretation of the scene. The new fragments depict three female heads and an inscription that identifies Timandra, daughter of Tyndareos and Leda.⁴⁰ However, after personally studying all pieces involved, I concluded that the Timandra fragments belong to a different kylix, since the rim and the walls are thinner than the rest and the drawing of the Timandra fragment is of higher quality (see section 3.5).

Taking all these observations into account, one must keep in mind that only Leda, Athena, Prometheus, Pan, and Peitho can be identified with certainty on the Astarita cup and that all suggested readings are consequently highly speculative. Beazley identified the scene as the birth of Aphrodite, with Peitho, Pan, Aphrodite, and most probably Ares and Eros depicted on one side, and Prometheus, Athena, and other gods on the other.⁴¹ The presence of Peitho on the Astarita cup should not come as a surprise, since she is not exclusively a companion of Aphrodite, but

instead a vital contributor in myths in which persuasion and seduction play a crucial role.⁴²

A fresh examination of the fragmentary Astarita cup allows us to relate the scene not only to the birth of Aphrodite but also to the birth of Pandora.⁴³ Prometheus was a benefactor of humanity; he produced fire for the people despite the cost to himself, and he warned Epimetheus against accepting Zeus's beautiful gift, Pandora. His presence on the Astarita cup supports the association of the scene with the myth of Pandora. Based on the size of the preserved fragments, there is room for five or six more figures on the cup's exterior, of which one was probably Pandora and the other two Zeus and Hephaistos, who were depicted on the side with Athena and Prometheus. Beazley's inclusion of Aphrodite in the company of Peitho and Pan also fits the interpretation of the scene as the birth of Pandora, since Epimetheus was unable to resist the beauty and charm bestowed on her by the gods. Leda may have been included in the scene because her union with Zeus resulted in the birth of another Pandora: the cause of the Trojan War, Helen.

Two vase paintings from the decade 470–460 represent the moment when Athena bestows her gifts upon Hephaistos' finest creation. Flanked by her parents, Pandora (ΑΝΗΣΙΑΟΠΑ) is shown in statue-like frontality preparing for her meeting with Epimetheus.⁴⁴ From the second half of the fifth century come several *anodos* scenes, which depict a woman rising from the earth or moving toward the surface with the help of Hermes.⁴⁵ Sometimes Pandora is surrounded by satyrs dancing and holding axes, a feature that suggests that the scene is based on a satyr play.⁴⁶ The absence of satyrs on the cup by the Codrus Painter makes an association of the kylix with a dramatic performance very unlikely.

Admittedly, the two assumed protagonists, Leda and Pandora, are not found together in any other preserved piece of literature or art. However, the popular theme of divine births may be the link that brought them together on the Astarita cup. The interest of the Codrus Painter in this subject is well exemplified in the detailed depiction of the birth of Erichthonios (cat. 2). Also, his infatuation with the human body and the sculptural qualities of its representation, along with the affinities of his style with the Phidian workshop, suggest an inspiration from relief bases of cult statues such as those of Athena Parthenos,⁴⁷ Zeus in Olympia,⁴⁸ and Nemesis in Rhamnous,⁴⁹ all of which depict the divine birth of, respectively, Pandora, Aphrodite, and Nemesis.

8.5 THE AMAZONOMACHY CUP

When Beazley examined a fragmentary cup from the Campana Collection with the representation of an Amazonomachy, he attributed it to the Circle of the Codrus Painter. Unfortunately, the fragments are today dispersed

in four countries, making the study of the cup as a whole difficult (cat. 93, pl. 19).⁵⁰

The tondo of the cup depicts two armed Amazons in oriental dress and caps (pl. 19a). One carries a bow and looks back at her companion, as the traces of her headgear suggest. From the very fragmentary exterior, only two scenes can be perceived: an Amazon with a trumpet, armed with a pelta, sword, and sickle (not illustrated); and another, mounted on a horse, while her companion falls backward from her horse, perhaps speared to death by the Greek standing in front of her (pl. 19b). The Greeks are represented naked, in stark contrast to the Amazons, who wear long-sleeved tunics, trousers, and shoes (with the exception of the wounded Amazon). This juxtaposition is often found in the Polygnotan workshop.⁵¹ Von Bothmer grouped this vase with two more cups and several large vases (kraters, stamnoi) depicting mounted Amazons, and commented on its “fine quality, which sets it apart from the bulk of Amazonomachies.”⁵²

A bell krater in Naples shows an Amazon mounted on a horse fighting against a Greek in a fashion similar to the exterior of the cup by the Codrus Painter.⁵³ The Greek warrior is about to strike the barefoot Amazon while protecting himself behind his shield and bracing his left leg on a rock. This representation is close to the spirit of the Codrus Painter’s cup, and both vases seem to originate from the same larger prototype. John Boardman has traced the different versions of Amazonomachies on vases and associated them with larger works of art, such as architectural sculpture, reliefs, and monumental paintings.⁵⁴ In chronological order these monuments are the Theseion, the Stoa Poikile, the west metopes of the Parthenon, the shield of Athena Parthenos, the *bathron* of the cult statue of Zeus at Olympia, and the west pediment of the Athena Nike temple on the Acropolis.⁵⁵

We know from the sources that in the 460s Mikon deco-

rated the Theseion (first) and the Stoa Poikile (later) with Amazonomachies.⁵⁶ He was known in antiquity for his mounted Amazons, and scholars have tried to see reflections of his work in vase paintings. The condition of the Parthenon metopes (446–440) barely permits us to identify the subject, let alone specify whether the mission was undertaken by Herakles, Theseus, or both. Altogether, there are fourteen metopes, and each shows a Greek fighting an Amazon, except for the very first metope, which depicts a rider by himself. Usually there is a rider fighting an opponent on foot, and the Greeks are depicted naked.⁵⁷

The Parthenos statue was dedicated in 438, giving us a fixed date for the reliefs that once decorated the shield of the goddess, known today from a number of copies. If the scant information on the Amazonomachy frescoes by Mikon is correct and the Amazons were indeed mounted on horses, the shield seems to follow a different version, a composition in which pairs on foot fight each other around a central gorgoneion.⁵⁸ Even though there are numerous depictions of Amazonomachies on vase paintings, it is not easy to detect a direct influence from the Parthenos shield, with the exception of the lekythos by Aison in Naples⁵⁹ and several other examples.

The composition on the fragmentary cup with an Amazonomachy attributed to a painter Near the Codrus Painter is close to that found on copies of the Phidian shield. Found on both is the rocky environment (implied by the small rock on which the Greek warrior rests his foot),⁶⁰ and the head of the Amazon leaning backward with her mouth open recalls the pose of the “jumping” Amazon from the shield and the Piraeus reliefs. The fragmentary archer on the exterior resembles a similar figure on the lekythos by Aison and can, therefore, be related to the work of Phidias. Even though one Amazon is shown mounted on a horse—as on Mikon’s famous paintings—it seems that the cup in Florence has more to do with the decoration of the Parthenos.

Representations of symposia, drinking, and merry-making abound in Attic vase painting, along with a variety of episodes in which Dionysos and his thiasos play protagonistic roles. Beazley attributed to the Codrus Painter five cups with scenes related to the wine god and his entourage or inspired by satyr plays. Of these cups, two are very fragmentary, while the other three are in good condition. Three cups out of five were found in Etruria: two come from the necropolis of Spina, and one from Tarquinia; the provenance of the other two is unknown. Since Dionysos and particularly his chthonic aspect played a significant role in Etruria, it should come as no surprise that the Etruscans imported at least three cups by the Codrus Painter decorated with Dionysiac iconography and offered them as grave gifts.¹

9.1 REPRESENTATIONS OF THIASOI

An interesting representation of a Dionysiac thiasos can be found on the fragmentary cup by the Codrus Painter in Tarquinia, which depicts a satyr and a maenad dancing, and part of the head of a third figure (cat. 21, pl. 20).² The satyr is about to perform a dancing swirl with his arms wide apart; there are still traces of a staff or a *thyrsos* that he (or the following figure on the left) once held.³ A maenad follows him dressed in a chiton and a mantle that covers her hands. She throws her head back as she dances, possessed by wine and Dionysos.⁴ The covered hand resembles a motif known as the “wing-sleeves motif,”⁵ which is very common in representations of bacchic rites and particularly of ecstatic dance. One explanation suggests that while in a trance the maenad is in direct contact with the divine; because she cannot approach or touch the god with impure hands, she has to cover them. Alternatively, the wing-sleeves motif may be part of the ritual dance or a conven-

tion of the vase-painters to show the orgiastic character of the celebration.⁶

More followers of Dionysos are portrayed on the fragmentary cup by the Codrus Painter now in the H. Cahn Collection in Basel (cat. 14).⁷ A maenad is shown holding a thyrsos while offering a kantharos to another female figure. A poorly preserved satyr and a second thyrsos are depicted on smaller fragments. It is worth pointing out the traces of an ivy band around the tondo of the Basel cup, a motif also found on the Codrus Painter’s famous Dionysos cup (cat. 53, pl. 21a). This ivy frame recalls the wreaths decorating Etruscan mirrors, such as the one with Herakles as a “fountain god” or the one from Vulci with Eos abducting Kephalos.⁸

The Dionysos cup is one of the Codrus Painter’s largest and most elaborate vases and is housed today in the Martin von Wagner Museum in Würzburg (cat. 53, pl. 21). Even though the exterior of the cup is not well preserved, the elegance of the drawing and the harmonious arrangement of the figures in the interior clearly demonstrate its high quality. The tondo, a larger than usual medallion encircled by a wreath of ivy, shows a unique composition of five figures neatly arranged within the circular space (pl. 21a). The ground line extends to the round frame of the tondo and gives the impression of a fragmented frieze. This impression is further enhanced by the surprisingly high number of figures in the interior. Rarely on Attic red-figure cups is the tondo adorned with so many figures, let alone figures set in parataxis.

The scene captures a true Dionysiac episode: the wine god, half drunk, leans on his wife, Ariadne, in the center of the tondo as he shows his empty kantharos to the satyr boy on his left, hoping for more wine. The god is dressed in a short chiton, mantle, and boots, with an ivy crown

and the symposiast's band (*mitra*) on his head.⁹ Carrying a basket on his back, the satyr boy holds a torch in his left hand and grasps Dionysos' kantharos with his right.¹⁰ Ariadne wears an elegant peplos and a long himation whose omega-shaped folds indicate the softness and suppleness of the textile. She holds a thyrsos and has her hair tied in a band.¹¹ Her eyes are focused on the young boy and the woman in front of her. This female figure is dressed in a peplos and wears her hair up and adorned with a diadem. With her left hand she makes a conversational gesture toward Ariadne, while her right hand rests on the shoulder of the youth who gently leans against her leg.

The young boy was originally mistaken for Eros by Fernando Hölscher, who claimed that there were good reasons to restore the figure with exceptionally long wings.¹² However, a reexamination of the kylix disclosed that some figures were inscribed.¹³ The female on the left is Peitho (Persuasion), and she supports a nude young Pothos (Desire). As a pendant to Pothos, the satyr boy on the right is inscribed Komos.¹⁴ Peitho is usually found in the circle of Aphrodite, and her contribution is essential in cases of seduction, marriage, and other events requiring persuasion.¹⁵

All five tondo figures are rendered in different scales, not the result of limited space, but rather an indication of their status. Dionysos, even when drunk, retains his significant, "divine" size and is placed in the center of the scene. The participants of the interior scene can be studied in two groups, one consisting of Peitho, Pothos, and Ariadne, and the other of Dionysos and the satyr. Ariadne is the connecting figure between the two groups, physically bridging them by keeping her upper body frontal and yet overlapping with Dionysos. Yet her feet and head are turned in the opposite direction, toward the nude Pothos. The composition consists of a number of triangular formations that emphasize the core figures of the embracing couple. The first triangle is formed by Ariadne's body and the imaginary lines from Peitho's hand down to the right leg of Pothos, and between the two women's heads. A smaller triangle can be drawn between the hands of the two women and the boy. Moving to the right, Dionysos' posture and thyrsos form the left side of a triangle, whose other sides consist of the god's raised hand and kantharos, and the satyr's body and torch. The divine couple themselves form a triangle with Dionysos' head as its apex. This formal analysis helps us to see which points the painter wanted to highlight, and which parts deserve extra attention. The clasping hands of Ariadne and Dionysos, the kantharos, and Pothos are focal points of this composition.

A cup by the Meleager Painter in the British Museum dated to around 400–380 shows Dionysos and Ariadne in a pose that recalls the couple in the Codrus Painter's tondo.¹⁶ The subject of Dionysos' return from a night of revelry is also found on a red-figure calyx krater of the Polygno-

tos Group (ca. 450) that depicts a boy satyr guiding the drunk Dionysos to the threshold of a building, while another satyr sits by the half-open door as Ariadne is about to exit.¹⁷

The Dionysos cup is often examined in relation to the *hieros gamos* between Dionysos and the wife of the Archon Basileus, the Basilinna.¹⁸ Some scholars interpret this scene as an allegory for the sacred wedding that took place on the second day of Anthesteria, a ritual that reenacted the myth of Theseus handing over Ariadne (voluntarily or not) to Dionysos on the island of Naxos. Accordingly, the Archon Basileus/Theseus permitted his wife Basilinna/Ariadne to fulfill the sacred wedding with Dionysos.¹⁹

The satyrs and maenads depicted on the exterior of the Dionysos cup are not performing an ecstatic dance, as on the previous examples; instead, they are shown in a quieter moment conversing and sharing wine with each other (pl. 21b).²⁰ This idyllic scene becomes more interesting when one reads the names of the preserved characters: [Si]mos²¹ (flat nose), a common name for satyrs, befitting their appearance, and Paidia, a maenad posing as the personification of Playfulness and Satyr Drama.²² According to Alan Shapiro, representations of Paidia are mainly dated to the last quarter of the fifth century, her popularity part of the trend of escapism prevalent during the Peloponnesian War.²³ The same two names are echoed on the opposite side (pl. 21c): Simos is the satyr playing the aulos and Paidia (ΙΔΙΑ) the maenad holding a kantharos. It is probable that originally all the figures bore inscriptions, which have now disappeared.

The Codrus Painter presents a wonderful contrast with this choice of decoration for the interior and exterior of the cup. Even though the maenads symbolize Playfulness, they are well behaved, elegantly leaning on staffs and conversing with satyrs. The latter have lost their animal traits and enjoy the pleasures of music and wine without any apparent excess.²⁴ Are they really a thiasos or not? This is what the fellow drinkers of a symposium would see and wonder about each time they brought the cup to their lips. They themselves would enjoy games (*paidiai*), engage in singing and conversation, and fill their cups with wine, following the example illustrated on the kylix. The fact that the two sides of the exterior look alike, along with the identical naming of the figures on both sides, is a deliberate attempt to bewilder and confuse the participants in the drinking party.²⁵ Once the symposiast finished his wine, he would discover that even the god at the bottom of his cup was exhausted from drinking.

9.2 DRAMATIC PERFORMANCES

Athens in the fifth century was a community with a highly developed civic spirit. Political decisions, suggestions, and aspirations originating in the citizen body were reflected

in public and private monuments. It was only natural that these tendencies infiltrated other contemporary artistic production. The Athenians valued public prestige greatly, and the arts, particularly tragedy, cultivated this desire. The plays often functioned as a platform for political visions and national ideals, staged and presented as the moral of a mythical plot. Theatrical productions were not campaign devices attached to a specific political party or leader, nor were playwrights hired propagandists. The plays maintained their public, entertaining, and instructive character by integrating the trends of the times and elaborating on an example from the mythical past. They may also reflect current social and historical situations: Aeschylus' *Suppliants* and Euripides' *Andromache* and *Heracles* are thought to have incorporated into their plots the impact of the death of the Spartan general Pausanias and the events of the early years of the Peloponnesian War in Corfu.²⁶ The dependence of plays on political, historical, and social circumstances was inevitable, as was their public aspect: the plot may have been written by one person, but the production was a team effort, and the audience targeted was the whole citizen body, as well as the occasional visitor.

Two cups by the Codrus Painter are often associated with satyr dramas.²⁷ The word "drama" comes from the verb *dran* (to act) and has a religious connotation, in contrast to *prattein*. The study of satyr plays is hindered by the scarcity of material and testimonia, since the only complete satyr play that survives today is Euripides' *Cyclops*, and the most famous commentator on tragedy and comedy, Aristotle, was silent on the subject.

The satyr drama is usually studied in connection with other genres (tragedy, comedy) as the fourth play of a theatrical production (i.e., after a tragic trilogy), and within the context of fifth-century political and social life in Athens. It was originally developed outside Attica, in Dorian regions, probably by Arion, and was imported to Athens by Pratinas of Phlius, a contemporary of Aeschylus who is recognized in the literary sources as the first writer of satyr dramas. The satyr drama shares with tragedy a plot based in the divine and heroic sphere, leading to its characterization as *tragoedia paizousa* or *paidia*. It also has some elements in common with comedy, such as the freedom of language and meter, and a focus on the immediacy of everyday life. In other words, satyr drama transfers the plot of a tragedy to an environment that resembles the relaxed, folk character of comedy. Satyr plays were performed on several occasions, and always during festivals in honor of Dionysos, such as the Great Dionysia, possibly at the Anthesteria, and as repeat productions at the Lesser or Country Dionysia. Scholars are still unsure whether satyr plays were part of the Lenaia festival. They do agree, however, that the satyr drama had a sociopolitical or even psychological function, since it transported messages, introduced

new versions of old myths, and affected spectators on many levels.²⁸

9.3 THE HERAKLES CUP

The Dionysiac repertory of the Codrus Painter includes an intriguing episode that brings together the thiasos of Dionysos and the Panhellenic hero Herakles. Found at the necropolis of Spina, the cup depicts on the exterior satyrs stealing Herakles' weapons (cat. 22, pl. 22b–c) and in the tondo a maenad with a thyrsos, who pours wine from her oinochoe into a satyr's kantharos (pl. 22a).²⁹ The formality and elegance of the interior scene recall similar libation scenes with Herakles and Athena, a point to which we will return.³⁰

Herakles is fast asleep on the exterior, lying on a rock near a tree, while two satyrs escape with his club and gorytos and a third attempts to rob the hero even of his own mantle (pl. 22b). The other side shows four satyrs. Two carry their spoils, Herakles' bow and lion skin; all four are caught up in the excitement of the event, the one on the far right making the gesture of *aposkopuein*, showing that he is on the alert (pl. 22c).³¹

The inspiration behind several vases decorated with this subject is thought to be a theatrical piece, possibly a satyr play³² based on a myth in which Herakles was robbed of his arms, either while he was asleep or when he was holding up the sky and waiting for Atlas to bring him the apples of the Hesperides.³³ On another vase a satyr armed with Herakles' club is ready to fight the dragon that guards the Garden of the Hesperides—only instead of apples, little wine jugs are hanging from the tree.³⁴ The tree depicted on the cup by the Codrus Painter was associated with the labor of stealing the apples, leading to the interpretation of the scene as an incident during the hero's rest after the conclusion of his deed. Closer examination, however, reveals that this is not an apple but an olive tree. Changing this "trade-mark" transfers the location of the action from the Garden of the Hesperides to the city of Athens.

The episode of satyrs robbing Herakles of his arms was very popular, and both Attic and Italiote wares abound with several versions of the myth. A red-figure hydria in the Vatican by the Villa Giulia Painter has a composition similar to that of the Codrus Painter's cup.³⁵ This time Herakles has just awakened, though he still lies on his lion skin on a podium or altar, while four satyrs are escaping with his arms. A black-figure lekythos in Athens represents the next stage of the story: the capture and punishment of the satyrs by Herakles.³⁶ In other versions of the myth, the satyrs are captured by Hermes or punished by Dionysos.³⁷

Fragments of possibly two satyr plays that could have influenced the scene on the Herakles cup are conventionally named *Herakles Satyricus I* and *Herakles Satyricus II*. *Herakles Satyricus II* seems to have been the inspiration

for ten vases, all representing the stealing of the hero's arms by either satyrs or pans. It must have been an early production, because the first illustration is dated to 520.³⁸ *Herakles Satyricus I* is possibly represented on a pelike by the Kadmos Painter, dated around 420–410, that depicts two satyrs named Hybris (Exuberance) and Skopas (Spy) trying to get the arms from the hero's funerary pyre while he is rising to Olympus.³⁹ We know that Sophocles wrote a satyr play named *Herakles epi Tainaroi*, and fragments of *Herakles Satyricus I* may be part of that play. However, it is still unclear whether the words "Herakles Satyricus" belong to the title of the play or simply describe the main character.⁴⁰ Based solely on vases, Semni Papaspyridi-Karouzou argues that a satyr play about the robbing of Herakles may have been produced sometime around 450. She suggests that it was the last component of a Perseus trilogy, possibly written by Sophocles, since he was particularly interested in that hero.⁴¹ Such a suggestion, however, is difficult to prove.

The Herakles cup by the Codrus Painter may have been influenced by an existing satyr play reproduced around 430–420 or by a new play, possibly Sophocles' *Herakles epi Tainaroi*, staged during the same time. Regardless of which play is hidden behind the scenes, the importance of the illustration lies in the message that it carries: a young, rejuvenated, and almost Olympian Herakles is robbed by satyrs while asleep near an olive tree, the symbol of Athens. The satyrs are trying to impersonate Herakles, dressing in his clothes and taking his place in the libation. Meanwhile, in the tondo, a noble maenad assists in the libation instead of Athena. With simple transpositions of characters, the worlds of Dionysos and Herakles appear to overlap, and the fine line separating satyrs and heroes is blurred.

The Herakles cup was ultimately purchased in Etruria, where Herakles was considered a god, not merely a hero, and received numerous offerings and dedications. His iconography is nearly identical with that of his Greek counterpart, and representations of his deeds are common.⁴² A cup illustrating a youthful Herakles asleep would appeal to the Etruscan buyer as a high-quality kylix whose subject was appropriate for a grave gift: a sleeping god/hero as an image of the deceased's eternal sleep. Nor are satyrs uncommon in Etruscan art, given the significance of Dionysos/Fufluns in Etruscan religion and funerary rites.⁴³

9.4 THE CAMBRIDGE CUP

Also associated with a satyr play is the Codrus Painter's cup in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge (cat. 54, pl. 23a–c). The tondo shows an Amazon on a horse (pl. 23a), while the exterior (pl. 23b–c) depicts an extremely peculiar theatrical scene, one so puzzling that scholars disagree about which play it reflects. The analysis that follows explores the previously suggested identifications of the protagonist on

the exterior scene as Herakles and Theseus, while adding a new alternative: Achilles.

The exterior shows five mantled satyrs with staffs following two figures: a young man completely covered in his long himation, and his paidagogos. The satyrs carry a number of giftlike objects: a phiale,⁴⁴ a stuffed bird (crane or heron), a writing slate and stylus, a phormiskos, a strigil, and an oinochoe, as well as aryballoi and bands. Dressed, like komasts, in short mantles, most of the satyrs pace in dance steps (*sikinnis*) toward the youth. Their postures and movements fall into three basic types: two lift their legs rhythmically, and two others move in sync, with one hand on their thighs, while the first and the last figures are more static, thus framing this impromptu procession.⁴⁵ The youth seems to ignore them, as does the satyr facing him, who leans on his staff and touches his beard in wonder and contemplation. With the exception of the youth and his paidagogos, the figure holding the lyre, all the other characters are clearly satyrs. Even though their tails are covered by the mantles, their ears and noses are obviously animal-like. The homogeneity of their appearance and their rhythmical pacing support the identification of this group with a chorus.⁴⁶

The youth and his paidagogos, in long mantles and sandals, are civilized in their dress and gait. The pair reflects a common Athenian practice: a boy being attended by his paidagogos, a slave or freedman responsible for his education, behavior, and safety.⁴⁷

According to Lucilla Burn, the scene on the Cambridge cup can be read on multiple levels. First, it evokes daily life in Athens: a youth on his way to school accompanied by the paidagogos who protects him from harassment by ambitious suitors. By disguising the potential lovers of the youth as satyrs, and particularly by illustrating the *sikinnis*, the chorus dance, the Codrus Painter alludes to the chorus of a satyr play. The heron as an alluring love-gift is also indicative of stage performances.⁴⁸

It is interesting to note that pet herons are found exclusively in female scenes. Sian Lewis argues that there is no mention of a tame or pet heron in literature, nor does the bird have any mythological, symbolic meaning. If the heron is taken as a symbol of a devoted parent, a chaste creature, or home-loving bird, then it would be appropriate for a domestic scene. This symbolism would support the association of the heron with women, especially since it is mostly found on white-ground lekythoi depicting maidens. Lewis wants to expand its symbolism to female sexuality (particularly menarche), thus underlining Burn's idea that a joke is being played on the youth: a bird that befits a maiden would be unlikely to appeal to the boy.⁴⁹

The figure of the paidagogos deserves special attention. He looks like a satyr, but he is not quite one of them, as he is dressed almost like his young master. It was usual to in-

clude in satyr plays the role of the paidagogos, often played by a civilized Silenus, and similar representations are common on vase paintings, with a satyr impersonating the instructor.⁵⁰

It is not clear which satyr play is reflected on the Cambridge cup. Burn calls attention to the popularity of stories about heroes' infancy in satyr plays (*kourotrophia*) and interprets the scene as Herakles going to school, accompanied by his music teacher, Linos.⁵¹ She suggests as possible sources of inspiration either Sophocles' *Herakleiskos*, Euripides' first *Autolykos*, or *Linos* by Achaïos of Eretria.⁵² Burn points out that the years of the Peloponnesian War saw a large number of departure scenes and representations of heroes and ancestors; she prefers to see the episode on the Codrus Painter's cup as a parody, stressing the comic effect of a reluctant Herakles on his way to school.

Pursuing a different approach, J. Richard Green identifies the youth as Theseus, the Athenian hero *par excellence*.⁵³ According to his interpretation, Theseus is no longer interested in the trivial pursuits of a young boy and remains indifferent to the temptations of the satyrs. He is ready to quit the pleasures of the palaistra (aryballos), wine (jug), and love-gifts (bird) and undertake new tasks more suited to an adult. In this light the Amazon in the tondo becomes relevant to the exterior scenes, as Theseus will fight the legendary female warriors and marry their queen.⁵⁴ He is at the threshold of adulthood, and soon he will be called on to prove his abilities both as a warrior and as a man. Therefore he cannot be distracted by the frivolous satyrs and their temptations, leaving the head satyr on side A amazed at the sight of this new Theseus: he is no longer a boy but a man, a few deeds away from becoming a hero.⁵⁵

A cup by the Painter of Louvre G456 dated to around 450–440 can be compared to the Fitzwilliam cup.⁵⁶ The tondo shows Herakles sitting on a rock and holding a kantharos, while a satyr with a pitcher is waiting to assist him. The exterior represents, according to Adolf Greifenhagen, Nubians leading Herakles to King Bousiris, who is partly preserved wearing oriental dress and sitting on a throne. Ralph Krumeich went a step further and tentatively considered this vase an illustration of Euripides' satyr play *Bousiris*.⁵⁷ It could very well be that rather than Nubians,

the vase shows satyrs playing the role of Nubians, since their bodies are covered with mantles, thus hiding their animal traits, while their facial features do not contradict their identification as satyrs, except for their leader, who is clearly a human, not a satyr.⁵⁸

On both the cup by the Painter of Louvre G456 and the Cambridge cup, the hero (Theseus or Herakles) is escorted by a group of satyrs/Nubians who line up behind him, dancing or walking, covered in their mantles, and carrying several objects, while a non-Attic figure accompanies the protagonist. It seems that the Codrus Painter followed a certain pattern when he depicted the young nobleman among satyrs, and that the satyr play illustrated on the Cambridge cup was modeled on pre-existing prototypes.

A successful interpretation of the scene lies in the correct apprehension and joint consideration of *all* the figures: the pederastic connotations of the episode are evident in the flirtatious satyrs, and the paidagogos indicates its educational character and the youthfulness of the male figure, while the role of female sexuality is signaled by the Amazon in the tondo (pl. 23a). One satyr play that seems to combine all these notions is Sophocles' *Achilleos Erastes*. The play treated the entrusting of the young Achilles into the hands of the centaur Chiron and his chorus of satyrs, and the hero's growing up in an environment that encouraged pederastic relations. The few fragments that survive today criticize the switch in the satyrs' sexual preferences from youths to maidens.⁵⁹

The youth on the Cambridge cup can be identified as Achilles, hurt by his rejection by the satyrs (his former lovers and teachers) and uninterested in their attempts to soothe his pain with gifts. The young hero is eventually himself smitten by female attractions, and this is why Penthesilea, the beautiful queen of the Amazons who captured, ever so momentarily, the hero's heart, is depicted in the tondo.

9.5 THE OXFORD CHOUS

One last vase with Dionysiac decoration associated with the Codrus Painter and his Circle is the Oxford chous (cat. 66, fig. 3.1). The problems of attribution and a discussion of its iconography are presented in an earlier chapter (see section 3.1).

Like many vase-painters of the second half of the fifth century BCE, the Codrus Painter and his Circle decorated a substantial number of vases with generic scenes. Most involve athletes and youths in conversation (see chapter 11); others depict scenes of warriors departing. In the absence of names and attributes, it is impossible for us today—as it probably was for the fifth-century viewer—to identify the scene with a specific mythological episode or historical event. This very ambiguity, deliberate or not, appealed to a wider audience than an Attic or even a Greek one.¹

Two fragmentary departure scenes by the Codrus Painter are indicative of his style and the high quality of his drawing. The first cup is housed in New York and the second in Tübingen; both share similar iconographic elements (cat. 5, pl. 24; cat. 6, pl. 25). The New York fragment shows part of a warrior with a mantle, holding a spear and a scabbard that hangs diagonally at his side. He faces left toward a woman with two phialai who is now almost completely gone. A third figure, a warrior with a petasos, is visible on the extreme right.²

Another kylix by the Codrus Painter, found at the Etruscan site of Montereggi, near Florence, and dated to around 440–430 on stylistic grounds and context, represents a departure scene from either the heroic past or a recent campaign (cat. 8, pl. 26). The tondo of the Montereggi cup preserves parts of a male head, a figure with a staff, and a third figure. On the exterior (pl. 26a) a beardless male in traveler's gear rests his left hand on his waist and holds a staff in his right. Next to him are traces of a female figure in a long chiton, and immediately after her another male figure with a chlamys and a spear.³ Two more fragments found at the same site probably belong to the same cup. One can easily discern the upper part of a woman in chiton and mantle,

adorned with earrings and bracelets. She is depicted offering a phiale to a figure that is now missing (pl. 26b). Although the cup was originally placed within the Circle of the Codrus Painter, it seems more plausible to attribute it to his own hand instead, on account of the precise drawing of the figures, the use of his favorite stock body-types (e.g., youth in travel gear, one hand on the waist), and a comparison of the female profile with similar examples by the Codrus Painter (cf. the woman holding a phiale on side B of the Cassandra cup, cat. 19, pl. 16c).⁴

Even in this state, it is not difficult to interpret the exterior of the Montereggi cup as another departure scene. This identification supports our original observation regarding the ambiguity of the scene and the anonymity of the characters in it, exemplifying how a vase becomes more salable to markets and peoples foreign to Athens when they are able to adopt a product into their own culture and understand its iconography through their own filters.

The Lindenau-Museum of Altenburg houses a much-restored kylix by the Codrus Painter (cat. 12, pl. 27).⁵ Side A shows Herakles with the horses of Diomedes, but the cup is so heavily overpainted that it is hard to tell with accuracy what belongs to the original scene (pl. 27a). Side B depicts the departure of a warrior wearing a petasos, chlamys, and sandals and leading a horse, while a bearded, draped man with a staff shakes hands with a hoplite. The latter wears a pilos and a short chiton and carries a spear and a small shield. An Ionic column between the bearded man and the hoplite indicates an interior space (pl. 27b).⁶ According to Erwin Bielefeld, the original drawing is of high quality, but it is restricted to the area with the horse and the warrior on side B.⁷ The tondo (pl. 27c) currently shows a highly restored composition of Hermes and a headless male figure, but careful cleaning of a limited area made it possible to

trace parts of the original drawing, possibly a female head with a band at the shoulder height of the left figure. Taking into consideration the condition of the kylix, it is not safe to make any assumptions regarding its original subject, and it is with a high degree of hesitation that it is placed among the rest of the generic departure scenes by the Codrus Painter and his Circle.

10.1 THE ZURICH CUP

Herbert Cahn attributed to the Codrus Painter a fragmentary cup decorated with a scene of eight warriors preparing for departure (cat. 31, pl. 28).⁸ On the exterior, instead of the usual palmettes under the handles there are rocks, masterfully integrated into the composition as landscape elements (pl. 28b). The setting includes two shields with elaborate devices, left by the rocks, and a large helmet set near one of the shields. The eight youths, with their chlamydes, swords, and spears, are arranged evenly around their rocky surroundings, either standing near a pillar or stele or sitting on rocks. It is interesting to note that two figures make the same gesture, extending the right hand up to shoulder height while facing a fellow warrior. The peak moment of this gathering was chosen to decorate the tondo of the cup (pl. 28a): a young boy with a mantle, a spear, and a scabbard makes a libation by pouring from a phiale.

The subject of the Zurich cup differs from generic gatherings of warriors and could represent a scene with youths at a country sanctuary taking an oath or making a libation before they depart. The figure sitting on a rock appears to be drawn on a larger scale, and this may be the key to the interpretation of the scene. Usually a rock implies a divine or heroic nature for the figure sitting on it; it may even carry funerary connotations, since similar figures are often depicted on grave monuments resting on a rock and accompanied by a dog.⁹ Examples are found on the Ilissos frieze and on one of the so-called three-figure reliefs. This Roman copy of a fifth-century original shows Peirithous sitting on a rock with his quiver by his side. His torso turns three-quarters to the left and is probably facing a figure now lost, while to his right stands another draped male figure, Theseus.¹⁰

Because of the rocky landscape and the affinities with the above-mentioned relief compositions, it is possible that the Zurich cup represents a heroic gathering in the Underworld rather than a generic departure scene.¹¹ The figures depicted in their military gear are evoked by the youth who performs some type of ritual in their honor. The pillars and rocks delimit the world of the dead from that of the living. If our assumptions are correct, then the figure sitting on the rock could be tentatively identified with Theseus or perhaps another local hero to whom the prayers of the youth in the tondo are addressed.¹²

10.2 THE NAPLES CUP

This stemless cup takes its name from its findspot inside a tomb in Naples. It was one of five vases discovered there, along with two very worn stamnoi and two red-figure column kraters—one by the Agrigento Painter and the other by the Suessula Painter.¹³ A peculiar departure scene decorates the cup in Naples, attributed by Beazley to a painter between the Codrus Painter and Aison (cat. 87, pl. 29).¹⁴ Side A shows three warriors with elaborate helmets and shield devices, one of whom is seated on a rock (pl. 29a). The main axis of the composition is slightly off-center, since the true center does not cross the seated warrior but rather the panther on his shield. A related composition is illustrated on the opposite side (pl. 29b), where a warrior is portrayed in an unexpected three-quarter frontal view drinking from a phiale.¹⁵ A second warrior performs a libation with the assistance of a woman who holds a silver oinochoe.¹⁶

The tondo shows a woman talking to a young traveler with a club. She is dressed in rich, patterned drapery and wears earrings and bracelets (pl. 29c).¹⁷ A possible identification is Aithra—albeit a youthful one—trying to persuade her son Theseus to mediate and allow the burial of the dead Theban warriors, an episode described in Euripides' *Suppliants*, produced in 423.¹⁸ As a result, the scene on the exterior may depict warriors who have finally received their burial and now enjoy the libations offered by the living.

Alternatively, the figure seated on a rock and emphatically placed in the middle sets the scene in the Underworld, following the example of the cup in Zurich (cat. 31) and the better-known example of Theseus seated on a rock on the cup by the Painter of London E105.¹⁹ Thus, the Naples cup maybe interpreted as an excerpt from a Nekyia, with Peirithous left back in Hades, while Theseus has already rejoined the world of the living.²⁰

10.3 THE EX-CHARTERHOUSE CUP

The kylix once in the Charterhouse School Collection can be attributed to a style comparable to that of the Codrus Painter (cat. 94, pl. 30), since it illustrates some of the typical characteristics of his style, such as the variety of poses, the detailed male body, and the paratactic arrangement of warriors and athletes. However, that it is not by him is clear, because of the large heads of the figures, the bizarre and rather curvy rendering of body and musculature, and the lack of harmonious proportions.²¹

Side A depicts a young rider in traveler's attire carrying a spear (pl. 30a). He faces a youth who holds the reins of the horse, while another youth leans against a pillar and converses with a bearded man with a spear who wears a petasos and a chlamys.²² An aryballos and a strigil are hanging in the back. The same arrangement is found on side B

(pl. 30b): a young rider wearing a petasos and a chlamys and carrying a spear, and behind him another youth holding the reins. The latter has the allure of a victor, since he is depicted naked with a wreath on his head and holding a strigil. The two figures on the far right converse with each other. The one on the left leans on a post and holds two javelins, while the one on the right wears a wreath and seems about to depart, as he is dressed in petasos, chlamys, and high sandals and carries two spears. The tondo depicts a child on horseback with a wreath on his head, talking to a young man represented as if he is about to set off on a trip or a campaign, or has just returned from one (pl. 30c).²³

The symmetry of the composition on the exterior and the placement of the riders on opposite ends on each side creates a mirror effect, while the repetition of the rider-hoplite motif in the tondo stresses the unity of the composition, enhancing the impression of a continuous frieze unfolding on the curved surfaces of a cup. This notion becomes even more prominent once we realize that the motif of a youth riding a horse or holding its reins derives from the Parthenon frieze.²⁴

The aryballoi hanging in the background on the ex-Charterhouse cup indicate a palaistra, while the pillar symbolizes a turning point or some other limit, perhaps a sanctuary-*horos* or a stele. Under this premise, the ex-Charterhouse cup may be explained as an illustration of a meeting at the tribal sanctuary where the names of newly accepted members were officially recorded. Perhaps the ten figures represented on this cup are members of a phratry celebrating the entrance of a new fellow citizen during the Apatouria.²⁵ All figures present have distinctive attributes: victory wreaths, chlamydes, horses, and equipment for exercise, war, or hunting.

Alternatively, the cup may be interpreted as a depiction of boys, youths, and adults during their military training. Fourth-century sources mention the institution of *ephebeia*, a two-year period of military service for young Athenians, often assumed to have existed before the reforms of Lykourgos. However, there is no evidence of ephebes as a hoplite institution before 335/334.²⁶

It seems, however, more plausible to interpret the ex-Charterhouse cup as an episode of the *gymnikoi agones*, although that institution too is known from later sources. Horse racing and other athletic competitions were organized according to age: children, adolescents, and men. The horse races were intended for the class of the *hippeis* and the phylarchs, the tribal chiefs who were in charge of the ten groups of the Athenian cavalry. A chariot race ended the competitions.²⁷ The winner of the ephebes' horse race received a *pentaploa*, a kylix filled with five ingredients.²⁸ This reading of the scene finds support in the abundance of vase paintings showing young boys riding horses, while literary sources report that the owners employed chil-

dren as jockeys.²⁹ During the years of the Peloponnesian War, *hippotrophia* (horse breeding) became a highly valued practice, and certain Athenian clans systematically followed the tradition of horse rearing and pursuing victories in horse races.³⁰ Late sources suggest that the festival in honor of Theseus (Theseia) was specifically oriented toward the ephebes, and a full equestrian program was included among the events.³¹ The ex-Charterhouse cup may instead depict the aftermath of such a horse race, but one can only speculate about the ritual and the cult activities associated with the race.³²

10.4 THE BATTLEFIELD CUP

The so-called Battlefield cup in London (cat. 92, pl. 31) is attributed to a painter Near the Codrus Painter, and its decoration is not typical of warrior departure scenes.³³ Instead, the exterior shows eight nearly nude warriors fighting in pairs: on one side (pl. 31a) a warrior protects his fallen comrade, while a third is engaged in a spear fight against the fourth. The latter is shown from an unexpected three-quarter back view, which allows us to see the griffin device on his shield. Overall, the tension of the scene is enhanced by the positions and the arrangement of the figures. A different episode of the battle is represented on the opposite side (pl. 31b): four men are fighting in pairs using swords and spears. For the painter the battle is a pretext to show the nude male body from various angles. Sometimes the poses are so exaggerated that they are anatomically incorrect. In other cases, the painter draws the figures outside the main surface, overlapping with the palmette decoration.

Even though the tondo of the Battlefield cup is not well preserved (pl. 31c), one can still make out two figures running to the right. The one on the left wears a pilos and chlamys and carries a spear, while the second is barefoot and carries a spear and a shield. They are probably running to the rescue of their fellow warriors on the exterior, an interpretation that underlines the compositional unity of the vase.

The warriors on the Battlefield cup are depicted nearly nude, and the painter took great care with the details of their weaponry,³⁴ as well as the lively rendering of the male body. This is the work of a painter who tried to apply within the limited space of a kylix the rules of perspective. Such depth and vivacity was the exception in the workshop of the Codrus Painter, where balanced, paratactic compositions and measured reactions of the figures dominated.³⁵

W. K. Pritchett describes tactics used in hoplite warfare, of which the most interesting where the Battlefield cup is concerned is *kyklosis*, a term descriptive of the move. The bodies of the warriors are drawn as if they were attempting to encircle the enemy.³⁶ The tactic of surrounding the opponent is also represented on a funerary relief from the De-

mosion Sema, Athens' public cemetery. It dates to 420–410 and provides a close parallel to the Battlefield cup.³⁷

The hoplite ideal is clearly promoted and embraced in all forms of art and literature. It was the pride not only of the aristocrats but also of the middle class, whose labor, values, and heroism made Athens safe and famous. Aris-

totle claimed that the number of hoplites that a city possesses reflects its greatness, while Isocrates believed that only the hoplites had the will, patriotism, and self-sacrifice to defend their country. It is worth mentioning that hoplites are more often represented in art than any other military class.³⁸

11.1 SPORT IN ATHENS AND ETRURIA

Athletic competitions were included in the program of many festivals in Athens, the most famous being the Panathenaic Games, which were modeled after the games in the Panhellenic sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia and heavily influenced by earlier funerary games celebrated in honor of heroes or the heroized dead.¹ The belief that athletic contests were organized by early Athenian kings, as in the case of the Panathenaic Games, provided additional support to the deep-rooted Athenian idea of autochthony. The city of Athens may never have risen to the level of Panhellenic athletic center, but it encompassed athletics in the core of its civic life to a unique degree.² The frequent depiction on vase paintings of men and youths exercising clearly manifests this concept. Athletic youths aspiring to noble ideals were a vivid illustration of what Athens stood for, a city trademark as popular and widely known as the Parthenon.

Palastras and gymnasia were an important aspect of city life, a popular place for men to gather and observe beautiful youths training their bodies and exercising their minds. Even if participation in the games at many festivals was not necessarily based on democratic parity, the abundance of palastras and baths suggests that the facilities were frequented by a large number of citizens.³

Herodotus (1.94) states that the Lydians credited themselves with the invention of “games,” while the Etruscans held funerary games as early as 540 BCE. Yet Greek athletic events were a unique phenomenon whose concept extended beyond funerary occasions and victory celebrations and placed training and competition at the center of civic life.⁴

Since most of the vases attributed to the Codrus Painter and his Circle were discovered in Etruria, it is appropriate to review Etruscan customs regarding athletic competitions. From textual references and archaeological remains,

it appears that the Etruscans had specific preferences in this area. A basic divergence from the Greek model is the complete lack of the institution of the gymnasium or the palaistra. Instead, large open spaces were used for training, exercising, and performing. The palaistra was not essential to Etruscan culture, or part of the Etruscans’ educational and social system.⁵ Comparing vase paintings with analogous Etruscan representations makes this difference in practice evident. It is only under Greek influence that Etruscan depictions begin to stray from the norms of the Early Classical period, without ever completely deviating from their own tradition.

The Etruscans seem to have favored boxing over other sports, in contrast to the Greek sport *par excellence*, wrestling.⁶ Certain Etruscan cities preferred specific sports that were far less popular in the rest of Etruria. For example, as far as the representations and the sources allow us to judge, jumping was particularly popular in Chiusi, probably because of the strong Greek influence.⁷

Sports practiced in Greece were not unknown in Etruria, and the same rules and practices are found in both areas, including anointing the body with oil, “infibulation,” and the rhythmical accompaniment of flutes. This could explain why Attic vases decorated with athletic scenes were imported into Etruria despite the differences in customs noted above. Nudity was a Greek idiom but not a Greek prerogative. It seems, however, that the nudity of athletes on Etruscan frescoes is due to Greek influence and does not represent the norm.⁸

11.2 ATHLETIC SCENES BY THE CODRUS PAINTER AND HIS CIRCLE

The majority of the cups produced by the Codrus Painter and his Circle bear palaistra scenes. Youths are frequently

represented leaning on a post, scrapping off dirt with a strigil, talking to a fellow athlete, consulting a trainer, or approaching an altar before an athletic contest. They are depicted either engaged in a sport (jumping, javelin throwing, etc.) or after training. Some cups represent more than two sports and may show different parts of the pentathlon.⁹

The accomplished drawing of the Codrus Painter is best appreciated on some of these vases. A variety of stances and viewing angles of the male body are found on his cups, and musculature (especially abdominal), veins, and other physical details are minutely executed. The paratactic arrangement of the figures, of which the Codrus Painter is extremely fond, does not allow a wide range of choices regarding their placement on the cup. This repetition can become predictable and perhaps occasionally boring, but it offers a great tool for recognizing, registering, and attributing the vases to the painter and his Circle.¹⁰ Painters contemporary with the Codrus Painter and several of his successors produced numerous palaistra scenes and assemblies of young men, but none of them follow his style closely or reproduce the close relationship of his work to sculptural prototypes.

A representative selection of cups depicting athletes and youths is discussed in this chapter. For practical reasons, cups by the Codrus Painter and members of his Circle are gathered together here and organized by sport, along with more general scenes of victors and youths finishing their training.

11.3 VICTORS AND ATHLETES AFTER TRAINING

Eurydike Kefalidou has studied the development of the iconography of the victor in individual sports, examining the depiction of each stage, from defeating one's opponent to the judge's decision and the crowning of the winning athlete.¹¹ Her work offers a useful tool for a discussion of similar episodes on cups by the Codrus Painter.

The victorious athlete crowned by Nike is depicted in the tondo of a fragmentary cup in the Louvre (cat. 23, pl. 32a). Nike holds a wreath in her left hand and a branch in the right. Notice the detailed depiction of her wings, the fine folds of her peplos, and her footwear. The kylix exterior shows athletes in various poses and a figure with a mantle (pl. 32b).¹²

One of the greatest works of the Codrus Painter is the Apodyterion cup, which is housed in the British Museum (cat. 24, pl. 34). The tondo shows two youths with strigils, a subject repeated on side A. What renders this cup impressive, however, is the episode illustrated on side B (pl. 34):¹³ three athletes stand near a basin (louterion) while another crouches behind it on the far right, as a companion pours water over his head.¹⁴ The execution is detailed and accurate, and the whole composition succeeds in giving a realistic snapshot of the life of athletic youths after training.

The exterior of a fragment from Populonia (cat. 28, pl. 35) is worth mentioning here, since it partly preserves the legs of two men: the right one carries a javelin, while a third crouches in the same manner as the bathing athlete on the cup in the British Museum.

Equally instructive for the study of figure-types is the cup in Florence (cat. 32, pl. 36) depicting athletes in a variety of poses, echoed in several other cups (cat. 39, pl. 37; cat. 41, pl. 38; cat. 51, pl. 39). Of particular interest is the fragmentary cup in Basel (cat. 25, pl. 40), which shows a trainer in a himation and two athletes scrapping dirt from their bodies. One of the youths is named Charmides, and his pose is typical of the Codrus Painter's artistic vocabulary, as he raises his right hand behind his head, bending his arm at the elbow (pl. 40b).¹⁵

Of special interest is the cup found in a votive deposit in the cave of the Buca di Castelvenera at the foot of Mt. Penna in Lucca, Italy (cat. 26, pl. 41). The cave's mazelike interior and the calcareous formations created by running water create an impressive site and provide ample material for legends. Imported Attic pottery was discovered here, along with bronze figurines, Roman coins, and other finds. Our interest lies in the fragments of a large kylix with a high foot attributed to the Codrus Painter, not only for iconographic reasons but predominantly because its findspot demonstrates the diffusion of Attic pottery in the heart of Italy and indicates the commercial routes of the area of Pisa, Volterra, and Padano, and even beyond the Apennines.¹⁶

The tondo of the Castelvenera cup shows parts of a youth in motion, a second static figure, and the usual band of meanders and checkerboard squares (pl. 41b). Ten fragments are preserved from the exterior (pl. 41a), including parts from the handles and from the body, bearing the inscription . . . [ΑΣ]ΤΟΣ [ΚΑ]ΛΟΣ. There are also parts of palmettes and smaller fragments showing youths. On one of these sherds a naked youth named]ΛΥΚΟΣ extends his right hand, while his left hand is raised up and bent behind his neck, a stance that mirrors the figure of Charmides scrapping his body on the cup in Basel (cat. 25, pl. 40b) and is repeated on the exterior of the Berlin cup (cat. 88, pl. 43b).¹⁷

The Castelvenera cup depicts a palaistra scene, even though the partially preserved inscriptions led some scholars to offer different interpretations. Adriano Maggiani, for example, suggests a reading of [ΑΚ]ΑΣΤΟΣ rather than [ΑΣ]ΤΟΣ, and [ΤΑ]ΛΟΣ instead of [ΚΑ]ΛΟΣ, and interprets the scene as an episode from the myth of the Argonauts.¹⁸ A reading of the scene as a mythological departure of warriors is discouraged by the fact that there is only one figure who could be carrying a scabbard, while most of the youths are depicted as naked and unarmed. Apart from iconographic arguments that support an athletic context,¹⁹

there is also literary evidence for a famous pankratiast of the late fifth century named Autolykos, son of Lykos, the accuser of Socrates. He was the winner of the 422/421 Panathenaic festival of the ephebes, and a statue was dedicated in his honor in front of the prytaneion—possibly a work of Lykios, son of Myron. His fame was such that Eupolis included him in one of his comedies, while Euripides named a satyr play after him.²⁰ Autolykos is a passive character in Xenophon's *Symposion*, receiving praises for his beauty. He was probably killed by the Thirty at the end of the Peloponnesian War after a fight with a Spartan, as a favor to the Spartan garrison.²¹ Since his legend inspired artists working in different media, it is quite possible that contemporary vase-painters like the Codrus Painter may also have been inspired.

11.4 JAVELIN THROWING, JUMPING, AND COMBAT SPORTS
For a lover of the male body such as the Codrus Painter, the tension of wrestling and boxing offered the ideal circumstances to depict an athletic pair in action, observe the crucial moments of the contest, and expressively illustrate the athletes' strength and effort. This explains why he favored representations of combat sports over scenes with youths holding javelins, a theme popular among his wider Circle. Scenes of jumping also occur in the repertory of the Codrus Painter and his Circle: five episodes with youths depicted jumping or holding *halteres* have been attributed to his hand or his Manner.

Youths with javelins decorate the cup in Berlin, which is attributed to a painter between Aison and the Codrus Painter (cat. 88, pl. 43). The tondo shows an acontist near a pillar (pl. 43c).²² The exterior (pl. 43a–b) represents youths in various poses: leaning on a post, holding a strigil, seated on a block. One athlete carries two javelins, while another rests on a base next to a pillar, which could be the *terma* mentioned in the ancient sources.²³ H. M. Lee studied the expression “*terma provais*” in Pindar (*Nem.* 7) and correlated it to several illustrations of turning and starting points.²⁴ The Ampurias fragment (cat. 43, pl. 51) shows an acontist in similar pose. Another young athlete depicted in the tondo of the cup in Florence (cat. 67, pl. 44b) holds a javelin and extends his right hand over a post, possibly to measure a distance or take an oath.²⁵

An altar and an aryballos suspended in the background create the setting for an athlete with a strigil decorating the tondo of the cup in Cambridge (cat. 68, pl. 45a). One of the exterior sides (pl. 45b) shows three athletes, one standing, the second preparing to throw a javelin, and the third holding *halteres*. They visually confirm jumping as part of the pentathlon and not as an event by itself. There are two kinds of long jump: the running jump with *halteres* and the standing jump. Other combinations must have taken place in the training areas, but the sources and the vase paintings

do not enlighten us further. The starting point (*bater*) of the jumper was usually indicated by a pole, and in front of it was a space with loosened earth (*skamma*). The length of the jump was measured with rods (*kanones*), and the jump was not considered valid unless the athlete's footprints showed that he had landed on both feet. The event was practiced to the rhythmical sound of a flute.²⁶ Side B depicts another group of athletes, with the one in the middle holding a diskos (pl. 45c).²⁷ Since the musculature is not rendered in any great detail, the depiction of hair under the armpit comes as a surprise. One also notes the double line on the chest, which is particularly evident on the figures in profile on this cup.

While the cup in Copenhagen shows a jumper already off the ground (cat. 58, pl. 46a),²⁸ the cup from Todi (cat. 57, pl. 52b) captures the very moment when an athlete concentrates and prepares to lift off. On the exterior another athlete is actually shown jumping, accompanied by the music of a flutist in a patterned mantle, while a draped man with a staff (a judge?) watches over his efforts (pl. 52a). On the other side two boxers flank a draped man, probably the judge or their trainer (pl. 52c). Boxing was different from the other combat sports in that the athletes wore special gloves (*himantes*, oxhide thongs) to protect the knucklebones and wrists. There were no rounds as in modern boxing; the contest finished only when the opponent acknowledged his defeat by lifting up his finger. Some of the most characteristic examples of athletic scenes by the Codrus Painter and his Circle are the cup in Brussels (cat. 45, pl. 50), the Copenhagen cup (cat. 58), the Ampurias fragment (cat. 43, not illustrated), and the Cape Town cup (cat. 72, fig. 3.4).²⁹

Another wrestling episode is represented on the exterior of the Xenon cup in the British Museum, named after the kalos inscription in the tondo, which shows an athlete with a strigil and a cloak.³⁰ On the exterior a draped man with a staff, possibly a fellow athlete, observes two athletes wrestling (cat. 37, pl. 47). The way the wrestler lifts his opponent up in the air is spectacular. The Codrus Painter's lively drawing has captured the tension of the body and the expressions of the two figures. We happen to know the technical name of this move, which is identified with the *anabastasai eis hypsos* of Lucian (*Anach.* 24), a special throw where the wrestler grasps his opponent and attempts to swing him off his feet and throw him down to the ground. Three falls sufficed for victory. A second pair of athletes wrestling in the presence of a judge or a trainer decorates the opposite side of the cup.³¹

Similar wrestling scenes are depicted on the British Museum Athletes cup (cat. 44, pl. 48). This kylix shows a different move, equally intense and reflecting the tension of the moment. Yet another snapshot of a wrestling match is preserved on the Villa Giulia cup from Todi (cat. 46, pl. 49).

On the exterior of the cup in Chapel Hill (cat. 70), youths flank a pair of boxers (pl. 53a) and a jumper (pl. 53c), while the tondo has a unique depiction of an archer next to a pillar (pl. 53b).³² Because of the rarity of the motif, Neils wishes to associate training in archery with the youths' military training, and especially with the preparations before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War: these Athenian youths prepare not only for athletic competitions, but also for major military encounters.³³ Stylistically close to the Chapel Hill cup is the Richmond cup (cat. 69), with youths and athletes on the exterior (pl. 54b–c) and a javelin-thrower in the tondo (pl. 54a).

11.5 TORCH RACES AND MUSICAL CONTESTS

Even though torch races were quite popular in Athens, it is not always clear today whether they always had a religious character, whether they were conceived as purely athletic events, or whether they were a combination of both. Young people, running either for themselves or in groups based on the Attic tribes, passed a torch from one member of the group to the next.³⁴ One such torch race, formed according to tribe, was held in honor of Prometheus and arranged by the gymnasiarchs (after 421/420). The starting point was the altar of Prometheus in the Academy, and then the procession crossed the Kerameikos and reached the Acropolis from the Sacred Way. A torch race in honor of Hephaistos during his festival, the Hephaisteia, was organized like the one in honor of Prometheus.³⁵ Torch races enabled the ritual renewal of the sacred fire, which was impure from prolonged use. The faster the runner reached the final stop, the better the chance of maintaining the purity of the new fire.³⁶

The most impressive of all must have been the torch race of the Panathenaia, attested for the first time with certainty as part of the festival in a fourth-century inscription. The event consisted of a night festival (*pannychis*) and a torch race (Paus. 1.30.2). The runners lit the torches at the altar of Eros that was close to the Academy, and the winner earned the right to light the sacrificial fire at the altar of Athena on the Acropolis. Since Peisistratos dedicated the altar to Eros, scholars often associate the introduction of the torch race with the tyrant and assume that it was based on an earlier custom.³⁷

Other torch races took place during the Theseia and the Epitaphia, a festival commemorating the Athenians who had died for their country over the previous year, while a special torch race seems to have been held for young children during the Anthesteria. It is interesting to note that the programs of the Theseia, Epitaphia, and Panathenaia included both a torch race and athletic competitions.³⁸

No representation of a torch race from the hand of the Codrus Painter is preserved. The subject seems to have been more popular among painters on the fringes of his

Circle, who decorated cups with youths carrying torches or passing them to one another (cats. 78, 79, 82).

One such torch race scene is depicted on the exterior of the cup in the Hermitage (cat. 105, pl. 55) attributed to a painter within the Circle of the Codrus Painter (Compare to the Codrus Painter and Painter of London E106): two wreathed youths flank a woman in a sleeveless chiton with loop-shaped folds. She holds a torch with her right hand and a staff with her left (pl. 55a). The scene recalls the great relief of the Eleusinian triad; the youth on the right is almost a direct copy of Triptolemos from the relief.³⁹ The tondo shows two athletes, one with strigil, the other leaning on a post while presenting a wreath to his companion (pl. 55b).

Both musical and athletic contests are depicted on the cup once on the London market and now in a private collection in Geneva (cat. 95, pl. 56).⁴⁰ The composition is vaguely in the spirit of the Codrus Painter's workshop, but the drawing certainly has very little in common with that of the Codrus Painter or his close Circle.⁴¹ The two exterior sides are almost identical, showing athletes with javelins and strigils, while the tondo depicts two youths with richly decorated himatia, one of whom holds a lyre.⁴²

11.6 GENERIC ATHLETIC SCENES

Generic athletic scenes have representations of draped or naked youths who may hold strigils, perform rituals, or simply stand near athletes.⁴³ The figure-type of a youth with a strigil was quite popular in both sculpture and vase painting in the second half of the fifth century, and it occurs on many cups by the Codrus Painter.⁴⁴ For example, the tondo of the Ferrara Athletes cup from Spina (cat. 36, pl. 57a) depicts a youth with a mantle and a javelin in front of an altar, while the exterior shows six youths, two covered in himatia and four athletes holding strigils (pl. 57b–c). This is a familiar palaistra scene, with athletes using their strigils after training, while the athlete in the tondo appears to be performing a ritual. The same atmosphere is found on the cup in the Louvre (cat. 30, pl. 58a–b). The tondo of a cup from Orvieto (cat. 64, pl. 59) depicts an unusual scene of a youth folding his himation.

Similarly the cup once on the Philadelphia market (cat. 84) has in its tondo an athlete leaning on a post while talking with another youth; both carry strigils. The exterior represents athletes with strigils; one has a javelin, and another leans on a pillar and is engaged in conversation with other youths. The most striking feature of this otherwise common palaistra episode is the arrangement of the figures, which creates a mirror effect.⁴⁵

The athletic scenes decorating the cup in Dresden (cat. 71, fig. 3.3) are rendered in a style that deviates from the examples attributed to the Codrus Painter. The draw-

ing and arrangement of the figures are not typical of our painter but are rather the product of a minor artist within his workshop who tried to incorporate into his own repertory the characteristic figure-types of the master.⁴⁶

A typical example of the numerous palaistra scenes attributed to a painter between the Codrus Painter and Aison is a stemless cup from Cumae (cat. 89, pl. 60). The exterior (pl. 60a–b) shows athletes and youths with rather big heads, large eyes (eyeball attached to the upper lid), and awkward bodies that betray how hastily they were drawn. Among the recurrent figure-types used by the Codrus Painter and his Circle are the athlete leaning on a pillar or standing near a post (e.g., the Bremen cup, cat. 81, pl. 64; cat. 90, pl. 69; cat. 103, pl. 75; cat. 106, pl. 78), a youth or athlete holding an aryballos or standing near one suspended in the background (e.g., the Duke cup, cat. 65, pl. 62; the Enserune cup, cat. 62, pl. 63),⁴⁷ and the generic poses of athletes with strigils (e.g., cat. 48, pl. 68; cat. 83, pl. 65; cat. 90, pl. 69; cat. 96, pl. 70 [fragments preserve only parts of the athletes, with no clear sign of strigils]; cat. 98, pl. 73).

11.7 THE SEESAW CUP

The Seesaw cup in the Iris Love Collection in New York takes its name from the scene depicted in the tondo, which shows a young girl standing on one end of a seesaw (cat. 9, pl. 72).⁴⁸ The exterior shows more women gesturing and conversing with one another, a female subject that is so far unique for our painter. What is intriguing is the ambiguity of the sex of the middle figure on side B, who wears a long chiton. Short, undecorated hair and the lack of distinctly female body traits suggest that the figure is male. As A. G. Geddes points out, the long chiton and mantle are usually idioms of kings, gods, or musicians. He argues further that in ordinary life a man wearing a chiton would provoke contempt, since the chiton was the favorite dress of courtesans, which might very well be our vase-painter's point.⁴⁹

Seesaw games are rarely depicted on vases, and only four out of the six Attic vases with girls playing seesaw have a known provenance. The list includes two hydriai, one in Madrid and another in Athens, a shape closely associated with the world of women, but there are also two fragmentary kraters and two cups, vases indispensable in male symposia and funerary banquets. Hydriai, kraters, and cups are essential for wine drinking, while the presence of satyrs on one of the above-mentioned cups stresses the Dionysiac element of the scene. Such a decoration offers a glimpse of

the carefree world of proper women and at the same time alludes to the playful but competitive life of the hetairai. The seesaw may have featured in banquet entertainment,⁵⁰ along with the musical and other performances provided by the hetairai, but it was also used for play by women of all classes.

Ricardo Olmos has elaborated on the subject and made a convincing case for identifying the women on the Madrid seesaw hydria by the Dwarf Painter as hetairai. On the same vase Eros is shown bringing a sash as a present to the winner of the seesaw game, and, interestingly, we find the same object suspended on the exterior of the Seesaw cup. Judging from similar representations, we can take the figures on the exterior to be relevant to the tondo scene and identify them as onlookers at the seesaw game. Apart from being a favorite pastime, the seesaw game is often likened to the weighing of the souls (*psychostasia*). Under this premise, the representation of a seesaw becomes more than a mere beauty contest; it is also a metaphor for death.⁵¹ Such a reading would render the cup an appropriate grave gift.

The funerary connotations of the seesaw may find further support from the swinging rite (Aiora) performed during the festival of Dionysos in Athens. Young girls created swings by hanging ropes from trees, probably a ritual of purification by air, in honor of Erigone, who according to the legend hanged herself after her father, Icarius, was killed by his shepherds, who were not used to the effects of the newly discovered wine. A similar explanation involving expiation and a request for prosperity has been suggested for the Roman *oscilla*.⁵²

The rather good condition of the Seesaw cup and its iconography suggest that the vase was found in a tomb. Since the majority of cups attributed to the Codrus Painter were found in Italy, one may hypothesize that the Seesaw cup was once part of Etruscan or South Italian funerary equipment. Let us also remember that at least one other vase decorated with the same subject was discovered in an Etruscan tomb: the cup attributed to an Imitation of the Euergides Painter and depicting a komos with ape-headed (masked?) youths on a seesaw was discovered in the Tomb of the Panathenaic Games in Vulci along with numerous other vases of different wares.⁵³ Given the Etruscan fascination with spectacles and performances, the game of seesaw may be considered part of the funerary events in honor of the deceased, not unlike the jugglers, acrobats, and mimes of Archaic tomb paintings (e.g., the Tomb of the Monkey in Chiusi).⁵⁴

The distribution of the vases by the Codrus Painter and his Circle followed routes established during the sixth century by Attic traders who supplied the Etruscan market with products of the Athenian *kerameikos*. The so-called Tyrrhenian amphoras and the vases produced by Nikosthenes' workshop enjoyed great popularity among the Etruscans, leading Athenian potters and painters¹ to adopt shapes and decoration that would be to their purchasers' liking.² The Etruscan market gradually lost interest in Attic vases during the second half of the fifth century, but it continued to be a significant import center for Athenian red-figure pots.³

The Codrus Painter's repertoire, as we have seen, includes episodes from the Dionysiac cycle, athletes and youths, departing warriors, and scenes inspired by specifically Athenian myths and heroes; even common myths may receive a unique treatment.⁴ The majority of the vases he and his Circle produced are cups, although there are some skyphoi and a few stemless plates. Of more than a hundred vases attributed to the painter and his Circle, only fifty have a provenance: thirty-seven attributed to the Codrus Painter and thirteen to hands within his Circle. Of the Codrus Painter's vases with a known provenance, twenty come from Etruria (plus five vases attributed to his Circle), six from South Italy (plus three vases from his Circle), five from Spain, and half a dozen from France and the Black Sea.⁵ This briefly suggests that the Codrus Painter's vases were predominantly exported to Etruria and intentionally targeted to two principal markets: Vulci and Spina (see table 12.1).⁶ It is of further interest that his most impressive cups (in terms of both decoration and size) were also purchased there.

Mugione studied the distribution of Attic figurative pottery in Italy and gathered a total of 2,195 vases between 430 and 400 BCE. With 71 vases attributed solely to the hand of

the Codrus Painter as her case-specific pool of data, the results of her research confirm our thesis: the majority of his vases were found in Etruria (nearly 30 percent according to Mugione's statistics), followed by a much smaller number of exports to Apulia, Campania, and the Greek colonies of South Italy (nearly 6 percent).⁷ In their much larger-scale Post-Paralipomena project, Filippo Giudice and Sebastiano Barresi have studied the distribution of Attic figured pottery based on both the Beazley data and new finds. Their results do not change our picture of fifth-century Attic exports in Italy and the western Mediterranean, although the new data about finds from inland Etruria, Iberia, and France enhance our knowledge of the shift of the markets toward the end of the century.⁸

The Etruscan market was by far the most popular export destination throughout the thirty to forty years that the Codrus Painter and his Circle were active. Vulci, Spina, and Tarquinia imported some of the finest cups the Codrus Painter produced in his early years. In contrast to contemporaries such as the Eretria Painter, the Calliope Painter, and the Marlay Painter, only two fragments by the Codrus Painter have been found in Greece:⁹ a single sherd from the Acropolis (cat. 7, pl. 4), and a fragmentary cup from the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron (cat. 20, pl. 11). This tally indicates a limited demand for his work in Attica.

Between 430 and 420 vases by the Codrus Painter and his Circle were not only exported to major Etruscan sites but also reached markets further to the west, such as Ensenune and Ampurias.¹⁰ Around 420 the trade with Etruria seems to have waned, while there was a noticeable increase in vases exported to Ampurias on the Iberian peninsula (cat. 29, pl. 33; cat. 41, pl. 38; cat. 43, pl. 51; cat. 48, pl. 68)¹¹ and the Greek colonies of South Italy—for example, at Naples, Cumae, and Ceglie (respectively: cat. 87,

Table 12.1. Vases by the Codrus Painter and his Circle: findspots by region and site

Etruria, 25 vases (24% of total): Vulci, 5/2*; Tarquinia, 2/0; Montereggi, 1/0; Populonia, 2/0; Spina, 4/2; Todi, 2/0; Falerii, 0/1; Corchiano, 1/0; Orvieto, 1/0; Lucca, 1/0; Unspecified, 1/0
South Italy, 9 (8%): Ruvo, 1/1; Ceglie, 1/0; Cumae, 2/0; Nola, 2/0; Naples, 0/1; Reggio, 0/1
Italy, 3 (3%): Unspecified, 2/1
Greece, 2 (2%): Acropolis, 1/0; Brauron, 1/0
Spain, 5 (5%): Ullastret, 0/1; Ampurias, 4/0
France, 5 (5%): Enserune, 3/1; La Monediere, 0/1
Black Sea, 1 (1%): Olbia, 0/1
Unknown Provenance, 57 (52%): 28/29

*The first number refers to vases attributed to the Codrus Painter; the second, to vases attributed to members of his Circle. Total number of vases examined is 107.

pl. 29; cat. 89, pl. 60; cat. 63, pl. 61). A cup in the Manner of the Codrus Painter found in Olbia in the Black Sea area (cat. 80) suggests an opening to new markets, along with the continuation of previously established ones.

According to Karim Arafat and Catherine Morgan, Attic imports into Etruria begin to decline in quantity from 450 on. The reasons for the decrease are several, and all are hypothetical; perhaps the defeat of 474 at Cumae changed the Etruscan preferences with regard to Greek pottery, or changes within Etruscan society resulted in less interest in the display of wealth. This process was slow at the sites of Cerveteri, Tarquinia, and Vulci, while at Chiusi and Orvieto the decline was even more gradual and prolonged. Around 425 Athens redirected its products mainly through Spina, a mixed Greek and Etruscan settlement, which developed into a well-stocked *emporion* capable of promoting products to the western and northern markets, thus becoming a powerful site in this area.¹²

In modern literature, discussions about the perception and use of Attic vases by the Etruscans fall into three categories: (a) the traditional assessment of J. D. Beazley that the Etruscans did not have any power over the themes decorating Attic vases;¹³ (b) the alternative viewpoint, best represented by Arafat and Morgan, that Athens and Etruria represented parallel interacting systems, not core and periphery;¹⁴ and (c) the counterargument of Nigel Spivey, who interprets the Attic vases as fully integrated into their new context and only that context,¹⁵ and the radical approach of Sian Lewis, who states that the major production of Attic vases was strongly—if not fundamentally—influenced by Italian markets (in both Etruria and Magna Graecia), not only in terms of their shape, but also in terms of iconography.¹⁶

The best way to understand the function of Attic vases in both cultures, Greek and Etruscan, is an approach that neither overemphasizes nor underestimates the Etruscan factor. Isler-Kerényi is one scholar who favors such a double perspective on Attic vases, claiming, based on her exami-

nation of vase paintings and frescoes, that a single system can be used by two diverse societies.¹⁷ Christoph Reusser's "neues Denkmodell" supplements and supports such an approach, emphasizing the importance of the shape of the vases imported to Etruria, but also accepting that the decoration played a significant role. The banquet's prominent role among the Etruscans—even if it was fundamentally different from the Athenian symposium—explains the adaptation of Attic vases to local Etruscan practices.¹⁸ The prevailing role of Attic vases in Etruria is usually related to the way the elite used them in order to display their elevated status. Their tendency to favor vases illustrating Homeric heroes, Herakles, and other prominent figures separated them from the commoners, in the same way that knowledge of Greek mythology was an aspect of upper-class status.¹⁹

In addition to vases with mythological representations, hundreds of vases depicting youths, athletes, and scenes from everyday life were exported to Etruria. The Etruscans borrowed several customs from the Greeks, among which was the organization of athletic events. Monuments to their interest include the funerary frescoes from Tarquinia and the relief limestone bases with athletes from Chiusi.²⁰ In some cases the games were performed by professional athletes, in others by slaves, proving that the social ideal supporting the Greek institution of the palaestra was not blindly copied by the Etruscans.²¹ Panathenaic amphoras and other vases with athletic scenes were interpreted through a different prism once they were adopted in an Etruscan environment. There, following the Etruscan tradition of offering games to the deceased—either literally or symbolically—they acquired a funerary character.²²

12.1 ATTIC VASES AND THE ETRUSCAN BANQUET

Greek and particularly Attic vases are often found in Etruscan tombs, but their role is not exclusively funerary, since there is evidence of Attic vases having been used in daily life before they were put into graves.²³ Studies of actual food remains from Etruscan tombs shed some light on the symbolic and ritual value of the funerary banquet.²⁴ The food offered and consumed during the banquet was an important status symbol. Throughout the centuries wine remains the most nutritious element and the ultimate symbol of prosperity in both the world of the living and that of the dead.²⁵ Drinking cups, gaming pieces, and food are placed in the hands of the deceased, thus making them eternally active members of the group of banqueters.²⁶

In her study of the role of Attic vases in the inhumation burials of Spina, Valeria Marinari argues that between the second quarter of the fifth century BCE and the middle of the fourth, Attic drinking sets accompanied the deceased in a prominent position and were distinctly large. Their extraordinary scale, detailed decoration, and prime

placement rendered them not only symbols of the much beloved Greek symposion in the *polis hellenis*, as Spina was known, but also vehicles of cultural and material wealth.²⁷

It is often thought that banquets had a principal role in upper-class ceremonies in Etruria, which followed the Greek example of public meals and aristocratic private dinners. Some scholars prefer to see the banquet basically as a social ritual that became sacred only when it was held in honor of the dead or when individuals offered libations to the gods. Our perception of the banquet as an emblematic symbol of aristocratic life may be erroneous, since most of our information comes from funerary contexts.²⁸

In an attempt to clarify the situation, Reusser reexamined the issue of Attic pottery as status symbol. Based primarily on archaeological evidence, he concluded that Attic vases were not luxurious items, but rather “desirable things for comfort or enjoyment, but not indispensable objects,” often used as status symbols. In addition, Reusser has proven that most of the Etruscan tombs equipped with Attic vases were not aristocratic; rather, they belonged to a wide class of colonists, traders, city residents, and soldiers (“Mittelschicht”). Therefore, the Attic vases were not used exclusively by aristocrats but also by members of the upper and middle classes.²⁹

In the first half of the seventh century BCE, the custom of banqueting appears to have been little known in Etruria. Gradually in the sixth century imported Greek vases, especially Corinthian wares, provided a model for recreating the atmosphere of a Greek symposion, with its almost exclusively male revelers. Illustrations of banqueting couples appear in Etruscan art first around 530–510.³⁰

In Etruscan art, the presence of women in banquets is particularly notable around 500, and they are almost always dressed, in contrast to the male servants who are nude. Women (and men) on wall paintings often represent members of the extended family.³¹ Larissa Bonfante rightly points out the contrast between the Etruscan noble families, where the woman enjoyed a prominent public life, and both the male-dominated Greek democracy and the later Roman tradition of the *paterfamilias*.³² Lewis’ radical suggestion is that the presence of women in Attic sympotic scenes was in fact a customer-driven attempt to satisfy the requests of Etruscan clients seeking representations more in line with their own activities.³³

A typical feature of Etruscan tombs is their reflection of the concept of a house in the shape of the tomb, its decoration, and equipment ranging from beds, chairs, and weapons to jewelry and banquet sets. Another characteristic feature is the *dromos*, the long path leading to the tomb entrance. There is no proof that all Tarquinian tombs shared the same orientation, but several of them face toward the southwest and therefore are in direct alignment with the sea. Stephan Steingräber has pointed out that only 2.5 per-

cent of Tarquinian tombs from all periods bear wall paintings, thus proving the special status of the painted ones. There are 200 known Etruscan painted tombs in all, mainly in Tarquinia and Chiusi, dated from the Archaic through the Hellenistic periods and thought to belong to a restricted elite of a timocratic society. The importance of the banquet in Etruscan life and afterlife is evident in several tomb paintings depicting banquet scenes, such as the Tomb of the Triclinium, dated to 470.³⁴ The Tomb of the Ship in Tarquinia (ca. 440–400) depicts on one wall a banquet scene with two couples sharing couches, a citharode, and youths assisting with wine, and on another a ship unloading goods and vases, docked probably at Gravisca, the port of Tarquinia.³⁵

Literary sources and archaeological evidence show that Etruscan and Greek funerary customs were quite different. Even though there are admittedly very few scenes of *prothesis* and processions of the dead from the High Classical period, in Etruscan art they are conspicuously absent in all periods, in contrast to a proliferation of banquet scenes and events in the presence or absence of the deceased.³⁶ The place of the banquet is never precisely indicated, but usually the inclusion of a couch and a column implies an interior space. Judging from some illustrations of dining while reclining on mattresses, the banquet could take place inside the tomb or in a tent near the entrance. The banquet probably was held on the very day of the burial, and it is similar to the *perideipnon* of mainland Greece, which was prepared in the house of the deceased.³⁷ According to Etruscan custom, wives accompanied the men at the funerary banquets that took place at the tomb.³⁸ By illustrating such an activity, one helped to perpetuate it.

12.2 THE POLYSEMIC VALUE OF ATTIC VASE PAINTINGS:

AN ETRUSCAN READING OF THE CODRUS PAINTER’S CUPS

The Etruscan iconography of the afterlife is often influenced by Attic prototypes and yet remains distinct from them, as is the case with the Classical statue urns from Chiusi that show the deceased, his wife, and a youth, or a winged figure (Vanth) guiding the deceased to the afterlife, and the stone group from Chianciano near Chiusi (460–440) with a similar composition.³⁹ A multilevel reading of vase paintings may also serve to demonstrate the new role that figured vases undertook in an Etruscan environment. For example, a red-figure cup from a site near the river Po (Le Balone, Tomb I) dates to around 450 and shows in the tondo a seated Hades with a horn of plenty and a phiale in front of an altar. On each exterior side a Nike flies, holding a phiale and an egg. An Etruscan viewer would most probably read this scene in relation to death and the afterlife, perceiving Hades as Aita and Nike as Vanth; for a different viewer, it would have less symbolic value.⁴⁰

Similar interpretations have been pursued by scholars

studying the reception of Attic figured pottery in Sicily. For example, a black-figure cup from Monte Iato shows Athena facing left toward Herakles while touching his club. The hero, bearded, wreathed, and without the lion skin, turns round to Athena and extends his left hand, which is holding the club. In his right he carries a rhyton, while his bow case and arrows hang between the two. A third figure, an unnamed female, faces Herakles and looks over the scene. This is not a typical representation of Herakles and Athena. Monica de Cesare highlights Herakles' local role as hero and god and points out the exceptionally high proportion of Herakles scenes on banquet vases recovered in this area.⁴¹

The handshake motif provides another good example of polyvalent significance. Its symbolic value in Greek and Etruscan art was examined by Glenys Davies, who concluded that the dexiosis is not found exclusively in a funerary context, but is employed in a number of conventional scenes as a symbol of parting, death, and perhaps reunion with ancestors in the Underworld, as well as marriage. From the middle of the fifth century BCE, the handshake motif was more frequently associated with mortals and started to convey a political meaning as a symbol of a pact or an agreement (e.g., on decrees). In Etruria the handshake was mainly used in scenes involving officials or with the deceased. It did not follow the development of the dexiosis motif in Greek Classical art or acquire its polysemic value; rather, it maintained a stricter symbolic relationship with beliefs about the afterlife.⁴²

The Etruscans came into contact with the Greeks at the end of the eighth century BCE and became acquainted with Greek myths, trends, and customs. This explains their awareness of Greek myths and their adoption of banquet practices similar to the Greek symposium.⁴³ The communal banquet, and therefore the pottery involved in it, were a vital part of Etruscan culture; yet they did not "slavishly follow Greek models but used them selectively."⁴⁴ The best argument for this selectivity is the development of the Etruscan funerary banquet, which may have started as a reflection of a custom from Greek (high) society, but was adapted to local needs and traditions. The idea that sympotic pottery was considered less precious and less significant in Etruria than in Greece is, in my opinion, mistaken.⁴⁵

Reusser shows that Athenian potters were aware of Etruscan preferences and eager to satisfy local taste.⁴⁶ Since the potters produced shapes to Etruscan liking, and not according to oriental, Egyptian, or Cypriot models, it is possible that Athenian painters, including the Codrus Painter and his Circle, aspired to the same profitable business plan.⁴⁷ This does not mean that they specifically attempted to represent a particular Etruscan motif or deity; instead, the decoration was designed to evoke an Etruscan interpretation of otherwise conventional Greek subjects.

Some vases were, of course, produced specifically for the Etruscan market, such as the Perizoma group and certain komos scenes, which are used by some scholars as the exception proving the "rule" that the Athenians were barely, if at all, aware of the subjects favored by Etruscans for vase paintings.⁴⁸

Even though the Greeks "exported vases rather than images," one cannot deny that the images played a significant role and were not irrelevant to the places where they were found.⁴⁹ On a broader level, one should not focus merely on whether the Greeks illustrated certain subjects *specifically because* they expected the Etruscans to recognize them, or suppose that the Etruscans *necessarily* were acquainted with all versions of myths (both might be true, but we have no sources to prove that one way or another). It seems that the Etruscans knew some Greek myths and invented a few more, and also that their own separate customs found an illustrated vocabulary on Attic vases.⁵⁰

Françoise Hélène Massa-Pairault pursues this approach further, maintaining that the Greek myths are polysemic and may be used by other societies (non-Greek *poieis*) to promote their own system of ideology and iconography. Vases such as the kraters by Euphronios with the death of Sarpedon and the fight of Herakles and Antaios carried different messages for the Etruscans, and Massa-Pairault argues that these multifunctional objects served a variety of purposes, from diplomatic statements and status icons to embodiments of political power to funerary symbols.⁵¹ Similarly, she claims that the illustration of a typical Athenian myth such as the birth of Erichthonios might have a local function as a pattern legitimizing the succession of power within the Etruscan community.⁵² Thus, although distinctly Attic in meaning, the story of Erichthonios was adopted into a new social environment and produced images befitting native traditions and/or locally propagated ideas. It is interesting to note that the myth of Erichthonios was often combined in Attic vase painting with another Athenian myth, the pursuit of Kephalos by Eos.⁵³ The abduction of Kephalos appears both on locally made Etruscan artifacts and on Attic vases imported into Etruria, usually associated with a funerary context. Both mythological subjects indicate that vases with Attic myths functioned in Athens simultaneously as mechanisms for displaying the glorious past and as grave gifts. When exported abroad, and particularly to Etruria, they were valued primarily for their funerary connotations, but also for their potential to demonstrate the social status of a learned owner.⁵⁴ Athenian myths, heroes, and practices were reflected on exported vases and provided a recognizable trademark for the city. The association of such a vase painting with a non-Greek owner implied that the latter had some knowledge of Athenian customs and that his circle would have acknowledged that. It is under this prem-

ise that we turn to an investigation of the Etruscan reception of vases such as the Codrus cup (cat. 1, pl. 1).

Marine and/or anguiped creatures similar to Triton are found in Etruscan funerary contexts throughout the centuries, clearly linked to Etruscan beliefs about the afterlife.⁵⁵ The representation of Triton and Poseidon on the Triton cup (cat. 18, pl. 14) by the Codrus Painter may have carried analogous symbolism, as the cup was part of tomb equipment discovered in Spina. A more pragmatic interpretation of the vase might be based upon Spina's function as a major harbor town. Given the city's interest in the safety and expansion of sea routes, the frequent appearance of water and marine elements in funerary iconography comes as no surprise. I would argue that the Triton cup and the Phrixos cup (cat. 4, pl. 15) reflect universal concerns with voyages to the unknown—whether sailing across new waters or to the afterlife—and therefore invite an alternative approach to the reception of such vases in Etruria.

Exploiting further the polyvalent character of Attic vase paintings, we may see a double semantic function for the Codrus Painter's Theseus cup (cat. 16, pl. 5). The Athenian hero appealed to the Etruscans' aristocratic ideals and affirmed their links with Athens and the Greek world; at the same time, Theseus' achievements, and particularly his fight against the Minotaur, permitted a symbolic interpretation as the triumph of man over death. Even though the Etruscans seem to have preferred a variation of the myth in which Herakles (Hercle) killed the Minotaur,⁵⁶ the key elements of the cup's composition were clear enough to understand and appreciate on both sides of the Adriatic Sea.

Of all the vases attributed to the Codrus Painter, the Themis cup (cat. 17, pl. 8) must have truly struck a chord with the Etruscans, appealing to their profound interest in divination.⁵⁷ The figure of Themis seated on a tripod and casting her gaze on a phiale communicated in the most obvious way the oracular qualities of the scene, and thus increased the vase's salability in the Etruscan market. The cup's exterior themes—a deer and boar hunt with eponymous protagonists—must have been equally appealing to the local clientele, since heroes like Peleus (Pele) and Meleager (Meleacr) were far from foreign in Etruria.⁵⁸

Similarly, the Divine Banquet cup (cat. 3, pl. 10) was not purchased in Etruria merely because it was a pretty vase from Athens, but rather because it was decorated with a scene identifiable with Etruscan practices. It is doubtful that the Codrus Painter ever had prospective Etruscan buyers in mind, but one cannot exclude the possibility that what was illustrated on the cup was a recognizable pattern, explicable in terms of Etruscan beliefs and customs.

Attic vases with Dionysiac themes are found in plenty in Etruria, while the impact of their iconography is evident in the figures engraved on Etruscan funerary markers, such as the chthonic satyrs decorating the stelai from Bologna.⁵⁹ Vase paintings of Dionysos and his entourage, such the Dionysos cup (cat. 53, pl. 21), should be associated with the Etruscan god Fufluns Pachies, especially in his chthonic aspect.⁶⁰ The composition of dancing maenads and satyrs, and also the motif of a drunken Dionysos, were quickly adopted in Etruria and had a lasting presence in its artistic production.⁶¹ Similarly, the depiction of Herakles on the eponymous cup by the Codrus Painter (cat. 22, pl. 22) underscores the funerary significance of Hercle in the local religion and his association with masculinity and prosperity.⁶²

In addition to the cups decorated with mythological episodes, the Codrus Painter and his Circle produced a substantial number of vases with generic departure and athletic scenes. The ambiguity of these unnamed figures, deliberate or not, extended their appeal to a wider audience and rendered the vases more salable to non-Greek markets. Buyers adopted them into their own culture and understood their iconography through their own filters.⁶³ Scenes with warriors parting from their loved ones or preparing for a campaign resonated with the experiences and practices of more than one culture, and could be read on both a literal and a symbolic level: leaving for battle and departing from life. In both cases the notion of family and community is highlighted by the presence of family members and fellow warriors, a feature that adds extra value to the vase within an Etruscan context, judging from the significance of the house and women in Etruria.⁶⁴

The role of Attic vase-painters' palaistra scenes in non-Greek sites is more difficult to understand, since the custom of exercising in the nude was not shared by any other Mediterranean culture. However, I do not think that the absence of the *perizoma* was crucial to deciphering the scene (for either Greeks or Etruscans), and it obviously was not a prerequisite for purchasing a vase in Etruria.⁶⁵ Similar, if not common, athletic events were organized by both Greek and non-Greek societies, and the Attic vases provided a vast repertory of athletes, trainers, victors, and snapshots of competitions that was readily adapted to a new environment. The ability to recognize athletic nudity as a Greek idiom may have been an indication of higher status, a trait that the Etruscan elite and upper middle class already possessed by the time vases with athletic scenes, like the ones attributed to the Codrus Painter, reached Etruria in the second half of the fifth century BCE.

During the second half of the fifth century BCE, the city of Athens became under Pericles' government a major political power and an affluent hub of commerce. Visitors and citizens alike were witnesses to the grand-scale Periclean plan to glorify Athens through a monumental display of wealth and an overwhelming flow of images. Public monuments offered an eloquent illustration of the city's heroic past and foretold an even more remarkable future. Orators, playwrights, and artists appropriated this vocabulary into their own fields. Contemporary culture was intertwined with the mythical, and this amalgamation was evident in the visual arts as well as in funeral orations and plays. This is why the iconography of this period, much more than that of others, finds good support in contemporary sources and is closely associated with the social and economic parameters that influenced the city's artistic production as a whole.

Phidias, one of the most famous fifth-century sculptors, became Athens' image-maker. His compositions, seen by thousands of pairs of eyes, evoked not only artistic admiration but also political commentary. Placing him in charge of Athens' building program was a conscious political choice on Pericles' part.¹ The sculptor's talent embodied the fast-developing ideology of Athenian supremacy in lasting imagery, while allies' money and the city's constantly growing trade guaranteed funding for the project. The architectural decoration on the Acropolis, the Agora, and other sites in Attica cannot be conceived of as void of a political meaning, nor can the dedications in sanctuaries and the paintings and sculptures of public buildings be examined outside this context. Every myth employed by Phidias and his pupils, or by painters like Polygnotos and Mikon, was charged with further connotations; every idea carved on stone and every motif in their repertory became

immediately popular. Therefore, the vase painting of the second half of the fifth century needs to be considered in relation to contemporary sculpture more closely than that of any other period. Particularly in the case of the Codrus Painter, whose peak coincides with the building of the Parthenon, a comparative study of this type is indispensable. It was impossible to remain unaffected by such an overwhelming production of motifs and figure-types, and the Codrus Painter and his workshop certainly became part of this unique creative fever. Their vases were imprinted with the features and the atmosphere of a famous Greek city, making its glory widely known by developing a repertory that promoted Athenian ideals and reflected larger sculptural and painted works of art.²

Motifs and subjects introduced by Phidias can be traced in a number of monuments. He and his students, such as Agorakritos and Alkamenes, marked artistic development on many levels.³ Their influence is evident primarily in sculpture, but also in figure-types employed in vase paintings, and in motifs used on coins and in the minor arts. Interestingly enough, post-Parthenonian sculpture became so overwhelmed by the traits of the Phidian School that the notion of escapism that was prominent in vase paintings of the last quarter of the century rarely penetrated into sculpture.⁴

Walter Riezler was among the first scholars to associate the Parthenon with vase paintings and to attempt a stylistic analysis and dating of the vases of the period based on their similarities to sculptural prototypes. He considered the Codrus cup and "those vases around it (*ihr Kreis*)" to best represent the Phidian spirit, and suggested a date of around 450 after comparing them to the style of the Meidias Painter, which was thought to be highly influenced by Alkamenian works.⁵

Of equal importance was the flourishing of monumental painting, which had a significant impact on the work of both sculptors and vase-painters. The combination of different materials, the addition of colors to reliefs and friezes, the use of inscriptions, and the close collaboration of artists resulted in a wider and more effective circulation of subjects, motifs, and figure-types. The sources supply us with intriguing information about relations between artists beyond a professional level,⁶ as, for example, in the case of Phidias, whose nephew or brother Panainos was the painter of the battle of Marathon in the Stoa Poikile in the Athenian Agora. He also collaborated with Phidias in the construction of the statue of Zeus in Olympia. Phidias is assumed to have been an apprentice of Euenor and to have modeled his chryselephantine statue of Athena Parthenos on Euenor's statue of Athena. Given such familial and student–teacher relationships extending even across different media and areas of specialization, one can only

imagine the wide spectrum of motifs and figure-types in circulation, and the tremendous effect on vase-painters.

13.1 ARCHITECTURAL SCULPTURE

AND TEMPLE DECORATION

If we use the cups by the Codrus Painter as a case study to demonstrate the association of vase-painters and sculptors with regard to subjects, motifs, figure-types, and stylistic development, it becomes clear that the Parthenonian influence is not merely general or “atmospheric” but can be clearly traced with specific examples (see table 13.1). As for the Codrus Painter's dependence on relief decoration, this tendency is evident in the arrangement, spacing, and naming of his figures, as examples from architectural sculpture, relief bases, and other reliefs will show.

The painter's repertoire shows affinities with figure-types and subjects from the work of Phidias and his pupils, while the paratactic arrangement of his figures suggests a general

Table 13.1. Vases by the Codrus Painter and his Circle in relation to contemporary sculptures

Date	Sculpture	Catalogue Number
446–440	Parthenon: metopes	2, 3, 16, 17, 19
442–438	Parthenon: frieze	1, 4, 7, 10, 15, 17, 18, 20, 22, 25, 67, 87, 94
438–432	Parthenon: pediments	2, 22, 20
ca. 440	Delphi stele	24, 25, 26, 88
442–438	Relief from Spata	17
440–420	Reliefs with riders	94
438	Parthenon: Parthenos shield	70, 92, 93
438	Parthenon: Parthenos base	[2], [10]
430s (2nd half)	Olympia: Zeus statue base	[10]
440–430	Hephaisteion: metopes	16, 70
430–420	Hephaisteion: east frieze	15, 16, 17, 19, 25, 50, 87, 88, 92, 94
ca. 430	Poseidon Temple at Sounion: frieze	17
430–420	Eupheros stele	36, 65, 89
430–420	Berlin stele	54
420s	Ny Carlsberg warrior stele and Megara stele	87
420s	Chaeredemos and Lykeas stele	4, 19, 30, 36
420s	Athens maiden with pyxis stele	17, 20
420s	Rhamnous: Nemesis base	1, 15, 17, and generic departure scenes
420s	Hephaisteion: statue base	[2]
430–420	Eleusis great relief	17, 20, 105
Ca. 420	Ny Carlsberg votive relief	17, 20
Ca. 420	Kallithea base	11?
Ca. 420	Trophy base	1, 17, [31]
420s	Nike Temple: frieze	1, 2?, [15], 67?
427–423	Ilissos temple: frieze	31, 92
ca. 415	Bassai Amazonomachy frieze	92
420–410	Polyxena stele	15, 87
Ca. 420	Leiden stele	3
420–410	Demosion Sema stele	92
420–410	Lisas stele	92?
420–410	Kerameikos stele	1, 15, 19
420–410	Philoxenos stele	1?
410	Sosias and Kephisodoros stele	15?
409–406	Erechtheion: frieze	[2]?
ca. 400	Sosippos relief	15?

Brackets indicate that the works share a subject but not necessarily any common motifs or date. A question mark indicates that the parallel is not close.

influence from contemporary reliefs and friezes.⁷ It is interesting, however, to note that compositions such as the Centauromachy, Gigantomachy, and Helios and Selene, Phidias' favorite motifs, are absent from the Codrus Painter's surviving repertory (see below). Even though figure-types from the Parthenon frieze are echoed on his cups, the setting of his figures shares little in common with the overlapping members of the procession on the frieze, with the exception perhaps of the arrangement of the so-called tribal heroes. And yet there is still plenty of evidence to justify a discussion of the impact of contemporary relief sculpture, especially from the workshop of Phidias and his students, on the cups by the Codrus Painter and his Circle.

Let us start with the pinnacle of Athenian art and architecture crowning the rocky hill of the Acropolis: the Parthenon (448–432 BCE). Pericles entrusted the supervision of the construction and decoration of this architectural wonder to Phidias. Our focus here will be on the sculptural decoration, starting with the metopes. The Parthenon carried metopes on the exterior of all four sides: the Gigantomachy on the east, the Amazonomachy on the west, the sack of Troy on the north, and the battle of Lapiths and Centaurs on the south. The metopes were executed between 446 and 440, followed by the continuous Ionic frieze that runs throughout the walls of the cella (442–438). The frieze unfolds from the west to the east, with riders and chariots taking up most of it, followed by a procession of elders, musicians, and animals led to sacrifice. The procession culminates in the east with the ritual delivery of the peplos of Athena, a moment witnessed by women carrying sacred objects, the eponymous heroes of Athens, and the twelve Olympian gods. Last, the pediments were adorned with sculptures rendered in the round, dated between 438 and 432. The east pediment represented the birth of Athena and the west the contest of Poseidon and Athena for control of Athens.⁸

Many scholars have commented on the influence of the Parthenon's sculpture on the work of the Codrus Painter.⁹ Some of his vases not only reflect the style of the sculptural decoration, but even represent the same subjects. For example, the north metopes of the Parthenon represent the sack of Troy. According to Katherine Schwab, the Cassandra cup is one of the vases influenced by these metopes (cat. 19, pl. 16a). She points out further that the horse on the device of Aias' shield on the Codrus Painter's cup lowers his head in a way that distinctly recalls the horse of Selene from the Parthenon metopes.¹⁰

The entrusting of Erichthonios to the daughters of Kekrops decorates one of the Codrus Painter's finest vases: the Erichthonios cup (cat. 2, pl. 3). The very same subject may have been depicted on one of the south metopes of the Parthenon (S XIII–XIV), according to one analysis, while the families of Kekrops and Erechtheus are presumably repre-

sented on the west pediment.¹¹ The episode, displayed on both clay and marble, underscores the significance of Athenian autochthony and the popularity of local Attic myths.

Certain figure-types and motifs are either encountered for the first time or most successfully used on the Parthenon, and it is from these sculptures that the iconography of several cups by the Codrus Painter derives. For example, the depiction of the weary Herakles on the Herakles cup in Ferrara (cat. 22, pl. 22b) brings to mind the figure of Apollo on the east frieze, and even the relaxed Dionysos from the east pediment.¹² The young female figure identified as Artemis on the Brauron cup (cat. 20, pl. 11a) can be compared to the torso of Iris (figure N) from the east pediment.¹³

The motif of a hero using hands and feet to master an animal was a favorite subject in Greek art for centuries, but it was its extensive use on the Parthenon—for example, on the Centauromachy metopes—that led to its broad diffusion on vase paintings, including the Theseus and Themis cups by the Codrus Painter (cat. 16, pl. 5a–b; cat. 17, pl. 8b–c).¹⁴

The tribal heroes on the Parthenon frieze provide good parallels for several figure-types used by the Codrus Painter,¹⁵ as in the case of Tyndareos on the Phrixos cup and the figure of Lykos on the Codrus cup, who bear a resemblance to the elders from the Parthenon's north frieze (cat. 4, pl. 15b; cat. 1, pl. 1b).¹⁶ Similarly, the stance of Aigeus on the Themis cup (cat. 17, pl. 8a), the way he holds his mantle, and his facial features can all be compared to those of the above-mentioned elder on the north frieze (N X) and the official on the east frieze (E IV 20).¹⁷ Additionally, the figure of Aigeus, along with the bearded men on the Phrixos cup and the fragment from the Acropolis (cat. 7, pl. 4), can all be associated with contemporary works of sculpture in the round, such as the male head from Mesogeio, dated around 440–430.¹⁸

The ex-Charterhouse cup (cat. 94, pl. 30a–c) echoes the figures on the north frieze of the Parthenon, youths reaching for the reins of the horses scattered among the procession of riders.¹⁹ A better parallel to the figures on that cup is found on the west and south friezes: compare the youth with a chlamys and a petasos on his tilted head to the rider on the plaque W IX 17, and perhaps those on S XIX 50 and S XX 51 as well.²⁰

Let us turn to the Triton cup (cat. 18, pl. 14b) and the depiction of a bearded man with a himation leaning on his stick. His pose and drapery match those of similar figures from the east frieze of the Parthenon, E III 19 and E VI 43.²¹ Among the figure-types taken from the Parthenon frieze and employed by the Codrus Painter is the one decorating the fragmentary cup in Basel (cat. 25, pl. 40a), where the mantled figure is very similar to the one carved on N XV 51, while the youth scraping the dirt from his leg echoes the figure W XV 29. Looking at the rest of the figures in the

procession, consisting of men wrapped in himatia, such as those on N II 4, helps us complete the composition on the fragmentary cup from the Acropolis (cat. 7, pl. 4).

The female figures in the procession depicted on the east frieze also seem to have provided prototypes for cups.²² Stance, drapery, and folds are often copied, while the maidens on the frieze carrying phialai for libations correspond to the women assisting in libations or participating in the Codrus Painter's numerous departure scenes. See, for example, Eriboia and Argeia on the Basel cup (cat. 15, pl. 9a–b), and the older female figure in the tondo of the Brauron cup (cat. 20, pl. 11a). Furthermore, north metope XXXII seems to have influenced the drapery and folds of the female figures on the Divine Banquet cup (cat. 3, pl. 10a–c).²³

One last iconographic parallel between the work of the Codrus Painter and the decoration of the Parthenon becomes evident through a comparison of the hunting scene on the exterior of the Themis cup (cat. 17, pl. 8b–c) and a similar episode depicted on the west frieze (W XIV), where two men are struggling to keep a horse calm.²⁴ The body of the young man on the left is revealed in full view, and his stance mirrors the second hunter from the left on the Themis cup (pl. 8b).

Before we conclude our discussion of the impact of the Parthenon sculpture on the Codrus Painter and his Circle, we need to examine the chryselephantine statue of Athena Parthenos, set up inside the Parthenon in 432. This masterpiece of imposing scale and decoration demonstrated Phidias' innovative techniques and range of repertory. The twelve-meter-high image of the patron deity of Athens stood in full frontal pose wearing a long peplos with her aegis covering her chest and a high-crested helmet with relief decoration. Athena held a Nike with her right hand, while a spear rested on her left shoulder and the *oikouros ophis*, the house snake, was curled under her shield. The statue was not only made of precious materials; it also carried painted and relief ornaments. The interior of her shield was decorated with an episode from the Gigantomachy, while the exterior represented in relief the battle of Greeks against the Amazons, echoing the subjects of the metopes crowning the exterior walls of the Parthenon.²⁵

The Amazonomachy was a subject that had already been treated in monumental painting, and reflections of its popularity are found on numerous vases. Using the limited information that survives today regarding the arrangement of the reliefs on the shield, Evelyn Harrison proposed a reconstruction of the composition based on the figure-types known from literary descriptions and on copies and replicas dated to the Roman period, such as the Athena Lenormant, the Strangford shield, the Patras copy, and various Neo-Attic reliefs, especially the so-called Piraeus reliefs.²⁶

Since the Codrus Painter and his Circle were active dur-

ing the same period as Phidias, they were inevitably influenced by his work. Figure-types from the shield attracted the interest of contemporary vase-painters and were used in similar Amazonomachy scenes, as well as in generic battle episodes. The Battlefield cup is attributed to a hand near the Codrus Painter and depicts warriors in poses very similar to the ones on the Parthenon shield (cat. 92, pl. 31a–c). Even though the relief figures are arranged in pairs that form a coherent entity of their own, they are still related to the rest of the figures, and this interaction is echoed on the Battlefield cup. Other specific motifs are found on both the cup and the reconstruction: for example, Harrison's "Helper-Group" (6–7 in her catalogue) is reflected in the two men fighting over a fallen warrior, depicted on one side; while, on the other side, the pose of the warrior on the left can be compared to Harrison's "Greek with Corinthian helmet" (8). Interestingly, the warrior with a pilos depicted in the tondo of the cup who hurries to join the rest in battle recalls the figure with a pilos on the Parthenon shield who is also not yet engaged in the fight.

The influence from Phidian prototypes may also be traced on the Amazonomachy cup in Florence, which was attributed to a painter who recalls the Codrus Painter (cat. 93, pl. 19). The cup supports the perception of common figure-types between our painter's Circle and the Phidian production, even though it is in a fragmentary state: for example, the exterior shows an Amazon mounted on a horse and falling backward in a position very similar to Harrison's "Amazon Falling Backward" (10). The archer in the tondo of a cup in Chapel Hill (cat. 70, pl. 53b) may derive from a Greek archer on the Parthenon shield whom Harrison calls "Greek Archer in Chlamys" (12).²⁷

This comparison between sculpture and vase painting demonstrates the Phidian influence on the Codrus Painter and his Circle: not only general affinities of style or similarities in subject matter, but direct use of figure-types in vase paintings that may or may not represent the same subject as the original sculpture. This close observation and ultimate appropriation of successful sculptural motifs by our painter indicate that his repertory was not shaped solely by the general ambiance of the second half of the fifth century or the circulation of legends on Athenian autochthony; instead, they attest to his ability to scale down larger prototypes and modify them to suit the curved, two-dimensional surface of a pot. The accuracy of the "recycled" figure-types depended on the subject of the vase painting and the drawing abilities of the painter. In the case of the Codrus Painter, his cups and those attributed to his Circle are quite faithful reproductions of characteristic figures from the Parthenon, as well as reflections of contemporary Athenian concerns.

Similar observations, although on a smaller scale, can be

gleaned from the study of the Temple of Athena and Hephaistos overlooking the Athenian Agora. Most scholars agree today that it was laid out before the Parthenon (ca. 460–450), but at some point its construction was halted, resuming in the last quarter of the fifth century. This view is further supported by the inscribed account regarding the cult statues of the Hephaisteion (dated ca. 421–415, *IG I³ 472*). Like the Parthenon, the Hephaisteion incorporates both Doric and Ionic elements. The metopes on its east side represent the deeds of Herakles and Theseus, and Ionic friezes running along the interior of the east and west porches depict, respectively, a combat witnessed by gods and a Centauromachy. Based on stylistic features, the metopes are dated to the 440s and the friezes a decade later. There are also fragments of pedimental sculpture, but their poor state of preservation does not allow any comments.²⁸

The Codrus Painter was at the peak of his career in the 430s, a period that coincides with the construction of the east frieze of the Hephaisteion.²⁹ Even though the subject of the frieze has been debated for over a century, the prominence of an Athenian hero is the only certain clue that we have.³⁰ Many other motifs and characters remain incomprehensible, and scholars have expressed doubts regarding the gender of the figures and the validity of the assumption that some of them carry rocks. José Dörig saw the style of Myron in the frieze and suggested that one of his students, perhaps Lykios or Kresilas, was the sculptor.³¹

The influence of the Hephaisteion sculpture is evident on several of the Codrus Painter's cups. Theseus from the tondo of the Basel cup (cat. 15, pl. 9a) recalls figure VI 27 from the east frieze,³² while the representation of the athlete bending his knee on the Basel Athletes cup (cat. 25, pl. 40b) can be compared to VI 29.³³ The youths depicted on the Berlin cup (cat. 88, pl. 43a–c) follow figure-types from the east frieze, as a comparison between the seated youth on the cup and figure V 22 on the frieze demonstrates. This relationship becomes even more noticeable when one compares the double line of the abdominal muscles of the figures to the similar anatomical formation of figure IV 15 of the frieze (pl. 79).³⁴

Additional connections with the east frieze of the Hephaisteion are evident on the Themis cup (cat. 17, pl. 8c). The man with a chlamys in the boar hunt scene brings to mind figure VI 28, while the deer hunters (pl. 8b) shown in back view can be paired with figures IV 16 and IV 19 (pl. 79). The tensed posture of the young hunters about to strike the deer (especially the depiction of their outstretched abdomens) is very similar to that of figures IV 15 and 17 of the frieze.³⁵

The exterior scenes of the Battlefield cup attributed to a hand Near the Codrus Painter (cat. 92, pl. 31a–b) may be associated with the fighting groups of the Hephaist-

eion frieze, particularly the central warrior attacking with a spear, who is very close to figure I 5, while the warrior protecting his fallen mate with his shield recalls figure III 11 (pl. 80). A similar figure-type was employed for the warrior with a sword on the other side, who finds a sculpted counterpart in figure II 9. One of the two warriors in the tondo recalls figures I 5 and VI 25 of the Hephaisteion frieze.³⁶

A comparison of the cups by the Codrus Painter and members of his Circle with the sculptural decoration of the Athena Nike Temple demonstrates fewer common elements, since the construction plan and the foundations of the small Ionic temple on the southwest corner of the Acropolis date after the completion of the Propylaea in 432, while the frieze is of a later date, ca. 430–420. There is no general consensus on the interpretation of the frieze, and the topics of each side have been a matter of vivid scholarly discussion. It is usually agreed that the east frieze shows a gathering of deities along with Herakles and Theseus, and the south the battle of Greeks against Persians, executed probably in the same spirit as the homonymous painting in the Stoa Poikile in the Athenian Agora. The west and north friezes are believed to illustrate conflicts among Greeks.³⁷

Stylistically speaking, the cups by the Codrus Painter form a transitional link between the monumental figure-types of the Parthenon sculpture and the more elaborate representations of the post-Phidian era. The general similarities originate in this case from a shared tradition and the use of stock figure-types, although executed a decade or so apart. For example, the three daughters of Kekrops who witness the birth of Erichthonios on the homonymous cup (cat. 2, pl. 3a–b) are echoed on the group of Charites on the Nike Temple east frieze, while Neanias on the Basel cup (cat. 15, pl. 9c) and the athlete of the Florence cup (cat. 67, pl. 44a) mirror Theseus from the Nike frieze, shown leaning on his staff with his legs crossed. In addition, the figure of Melite on the exterior of the Codrus cup (cat. 1, pl. 1b) distinctly recalls Hera on the Nike frieze.³⁸

The battle scenes depicted in the south frieze of the Nike Temple vibrate with motion and tension, an impression enhanced by the wavy folds of the drapery, the exaggerated poses, and the variety of figure-types. It is interesting to point out that this episode is also reproduced on an earlier cup attributed to a hand Near the Codrus Painter, the Battlefield cup (cat. 92, pl. 3a–c), and that they both resemble a scene from the Amazonomachy frieze of the Apollo Temple at Bassai.³⁹ These striking similarities demonstrate the longevity of successful figure-types and the common artistic vocabulary shared by sculptors and vase-painters.

Although dated to the same period (ca. 427–423), the frieze of the Ilissos temple⁴⁰ shares few common figure-types with the cups by the Codrus Painter and his Circle,

mainly because the subjects decorating the cups lack the intensity of the battle scenes found on the architectural reliefs. The exception to this rule is the Battlefield cup (cat. 92, pl. 31a–b), and particularly the shield-carrying warrior advancing to the right, who is comparable to the figures of the Ilissos frieze block F. In addition, the warrior sitting on a rock on the exterior of the Zurich cup (cat. 31, pl. 28a) recalls the figure on slab B.

Overall, the connection between the Codrus Painter's mythological vases and Periclean ideology is most evident in the Erechtheion, the oddly planed temple north of the Parthenon that housed the ancient wooden statue (*xoanon*) of Athena Polias and the cults of some of the oldest local heroes. Named after the legendary king of Athens, Erechtheus, the temple had a complex, multilevel interior. Its ground plan was divided into two areas dedicated to Athena and Poseidon, respectively, with room for altars, tombs, and other cult areas for lesser local deities as well. The exterior of this unique building consisted of three porches, adorned with intricate details and bold architectural choices, such as the famous Caryatids porch. Construction of the Erechtheion began in 421, but its decoration was not completed until almost fifteen years later (409–406). Sculpted figures of white marble individually attached to dark Eleusinian stone make up the frieze that runs along the exterior cella walls, following a technique similar to the relief decoration of cult statue bases, where contrasts in color and material are widely used. This technique explains why there is little interaction between the figures of the frieze, which are today badly preserved and few in number, mainly women in peaceful poses sitting, standing, or holding a child.⁴¹

Even though the late fifth-century date of the frieze prevents us from drawing any direct parallels between the reliefs and the figure-types on the Codrus Painter's cups, we can certainly highlight the common messages set forth in the Erechtheion and the vase paintings. A concern with autochthony and a keen interest in local cults and Attic heroes are also found on some of the finest cups by our painter, such as the Codrus and the Erichthonios cups (cat. 1, pl. 1; cat. 2, pl. 3).

13.2 CULT STATUE BASES

Cult statue bases are the strongest evidence for the proximity of the Codrus Painter to the Phidian workshop. The paratactic arrangement of the relief figures finds in his cups a worthy two-dimensional counterpart, while his drawing, especially in his early cups, reflects the style of both Phidias and his pupils. The birth scenes, local heroes, and assemblies of deities in the Codrus Painter's repertory echo the subjects decorating the large cult statue bases, known to us today from the descriptions of Pausanias, later copies, and, rarely, preserved fragments.

Sophisticated cult statue bases seem to have been a personal invention of Phidias. Their scale, materials, and decoration were a novelty, best understood as part of an iconographic program conceived by the state to serve specific political ends and representing a well-conceived profile of Athens on religious, civic, and social levels.⁴²

Olga Palagia has examined all four relief bases of the Phidian School and come to the conclusion that Phidias was indeed the pioneering force behind their creation. The Parthenos base dates to 438, while the base of Zeus's statue at Olympia should be dated to the second half of the 430s. The Nemesis base by Agorakritos was created a few years later. The last relief cult statue base produced from the Phidian workshop, the Hephaisteion base, is a work of Alkamenes. After examining the technical issues related to all four bases, Palagia proceeds to an iconographic analysis of their relief decoration, combining the fragments (where preserved) with the literary sources and posing crucial questions that redefine the figures. Phidias' bases for the Parthenos and Zeus statues were made of expensive materials corresponding to the high quality of the cult statue and reflecting the lavish budget at his disposal. The bases by his pupils were made from less expensive materials, as were the statues they once supported. It is surely not a coincidence that all four bases depict birth scenes related, in one way or another, to the deities whose statues they carried. Apart from the technical features and the ornamental aspect of the statue and its base, one needs to keep in mind that the subject was not merely an illustration of a mythological event with possible religious connotations; it should also be studied for its political undertones.⁴³

Since the only preserved fragments from the base of Athena Parthenos belong to the orthostate slabs and moldings, they can only inform us about the dimensions of the base and confirm the Phidian preference for rather wide but low statue bases. Nothing survives from the relief decoration.⁴⁴ Pausanias (1.24.7) and Pliny (*NH* 36.18) identify the subject of the relief base as the birth of Pandora in the presence of twenty divinities. Only two copies of the statue preserve parts of the relief base: the rather small and unfinished statuette of Athena Lenormant and a copy of Athena Parthenos from the Pergamon Library, whose scale is one-third of the original Parthenos statue.⁴⁵ Six figures are visible on the Lenormant base, but there is common agreement only on the identification of the figures of Helios and Selene flanking the scene. The Pergamon Athena shows eight or perhaps ten figures on its base. Pandora is assumed to be in the center, surrounded by various deities.⁴⁶

Despite the ingenious reconstructions of the scene generated from the combined study of sources and later reproductions, it is too risky to assume common figure-types between the Codrus Painter's cups and the Parthenos base. Therefore, we shall limit our overview to the evident sim-

ilarities—namely, both artists' distinct interest in birth scenes. Compare the birth of Erichthonios on the homonymous cup (cat. 2, pl. 3a–c), the birth of Aphrodite (or even Pandora) on the Astarita cup (cat. 10, pl. 17), and the implied birth of Theseus in the tondo of the Themis cup (cat. 17, pl. 8a). The use of inscriptions on these cups, the placement of well-known gods next to minor local heroes, and the paratactic alignment of figures and their elaborate drapery support the association of these vase paintings with relief cult statue bases.

According to pottery found in Phidias' workshop in Olympia,⁴⁷ the cult statue base of Zeus was executed after 438 and perhaps even later, after the sculptor's successful career in Athens and the death of Pericles in 429. The sources describe a magnificent wonder, not just a chryselephantine statue of great size, but the living proof of the blooming of all the arts during that period, since it combined painting and bronze and ivory techniques with relief decoration. This explains Pausanias' detailed description of both the statue and its base adorned with gilded figures attached to blocks of dark Eleusinian stone.⁴⁸ The base represented the birth of Aphrodite, probably depicted in the center rising from the sea, while Eros and Peitho prepared to receive her. Gods in pairs attended the scene: Zeus and Hera, Hephaistos and Charis, Hermes and Hestia, Apollo and Artemis, Athena and Herakles, Poseidon and Amphitrite, with Helios and Selene at the ends.⁴⁹ Even though Phidias cannot be credited with an original subject, the choice of gods attending Aphrodite's birth on the statue base was probably his own invention.⁵⁰

Any assertion of stylistic proximity and potential figure-type exchange between the work of the Codrus Painter and this statue base must be made with caution, since the original is lacking. Here I shall only note the subject and named characters of the Astarita cup (cat. 10, pl. 17). Despite its fragmentary state, the scene has been associated with a divine birth (of Aphrodite, Helen, or Pandora), as were all four major cult statue bases of the Phidian School, while the figures securely identified by inscriptions on the cup are also found on the bases. Although it is impossible to establish any closer association between the Astarita cup and the cult statue base of Zeus, the cup demonstrates the shared artistic vocabulary of sculptors and vase-painters.

Equally complex is the case of the cult statue base of the Hephaisteion, the temple of Hephaistos and Athena on the Kolonos Hill northwest of the Agora. The sources never clearly mention a cult statue base in the Hephaisteion. However, two blocks of Eleusinian limestone found in the cella preserve holes of similar depth, size, and orientation that allow an association with the technique of nailing relief decoration to blocks, a practice popular with the workshop of Phidias. Based on inscriptions with the building accounts of the Hephaisteion, it is assumed that there were

twelve separately worked figures attached to dark Eleusinian stone, but whether they were made of stone or metal remains unclear.⁵¹

From Pausanias' description it has been inferred that the base of the cult statues of Athena and Hephaistos was decorated with the birth of Erichthonios and that the whole monument was a work of Alkamenes and his workshop, which is dated to the 420s.⁵² Modern reconstructions of the statues include figure-types from two Neo-Attic reliefs that show Athena receiving Erichthonios from Ge with Hephaistos attending the scene; one is in the Vatican and the other is in the Louvre, and both combine motifs of the fifth century as well as later ones.⁵³ Numerous vase paintings have been used to reconstruct the original cult statue base, including the Codrus Painter's Erichthonios cup (cat. 2, pl. 3a). It must be noted, however, that despite the similarities with the Neo-Attic reliefs, the Erichthonios cup predates the Hephaisteion base by at least a decade, and therefore the cup's motifs and figure-types cannot derive from the statue base. Yet the Neo-Attic reliefs are consistent with and quite similar to contemporary vase paintings, which may indicate that they all follow a larger prototype.⁵⁴ We can certainly say that both the Hephaisteion base and the cup reflect the artistic preferences of Periclean Athens.

Fortunately, we are on more solid ground with the base of the temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous, the only cult statue base of the four that preserves fragments of its original relief decoration. There have been several imaginative attempts to reconstruct the cult statue and the base. Some scholars doubted that Agorakritos was the sculptor of both the statue and the base reliefs and instead proposed the names of other collaborators of Phidias, such as Kolotes.⁵⁵ The cult statue of Nemesis was made around 430, while the base is thought to be slightly later, either 425–423 or 421, perhaps set up as an expiation after the plague that hit Athens during the first years of the Peloponnesian War.⁵⁶

The base consists of Pentelic marble blocks and a crown of dark Eleusinian stone (pl. 81). In contrast to the previous cult statue bases by the Phidian School, the Nemesis base does not have separately carved figures attached to the background but a continuous frieze carved on both the façade and the sides.⁵⁷ Pausanias names twelve figures as he explains the subject of the base: Leda leads Helen to her divine mother, Nemesis, surrounded by local heroes and family members, such as Tyndareos and his children, Hippeus with his horse, Agamemnon and Menelaos, Pyrrhos (future husband of Hermione), Epichos, and Neanias. There is, however, a discrepancy between Pausanias' account and the actual base, which has fourteen figures, eight in the front and three on each side, a fact that renders their identification quite problematic.⁵⁸

The Nemesis base is a good sculptural example of the tendency noted in the early cups of the Codrus Painter to

depict local heroes as witnesses to mythological events, and the use of such representations as a metaphor for current political and historical issues. Minor heroes with few attributes, if any, stand as representatives of the city in divine gatherings and as personifications of a certain area, a deme, or a tribe: for example, Melite on the Codrus cup (cat. 1, pl. 1b) and the figures of Oinoe and Neanias on the Nemesis base. Other common elements on the Codrus Painter's cups and the relief decoration on the Nemesis base include the importance of family gatherings, particularly in numerous departure scenes, and the focus on youths. The figure of Neanias and rider heroes, the Dioskouroi in particular, seem to have been favorite iconographic elements of both the Nemesis sculptor and our painter.⁵⁹

13.3 DEDICATORY AND FUNERARY RELIEF BASES

Dedicatory relief bases in Athens disappear in the years between the Persian Wars and the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, only to regain in the 430s a popularity that culminates in the fourth century. Their reappearance is unavoidably connected with the creation of the Parthenon and the transformation of Athens into a major artistic center responsible for the employment of numerous sculptors and the setting of trends. Most of the dedicatory relief bases come from the Acropolis and the Agora. They represent predominantly the agonistic spirit of the times as expressed in a variety of popular athletic and equestrian events and dithyrambic contests. The iconography of dedicatory reliefs includes examples of military victory monuments and images of gods, while the conspicuous lack of mythological subjects contrasts with the repertory of the relief cult statue bases.⁶⁰ Vase paintings of the second half of the fifth century, and particularly those by the Codrus Painter and his Circle, with their famous palaistra scenes, are an invaluable tool for understanding the period, since their style and subject bridge the chronological gap in the production of dedicatory and funerary relief bases and anticipate their reappearance in the late fifth and fourth centuries.⁶¹

The relief bases of funerary monuments follow the fate of larger grave reliefs, which reappear only after the 440s. Their recurrence is explained as a result of either the building of the Parthenon or the plague, or both. Surprisingly, only thirteen funerary relief bases are known today, of which only a handful date to the late fifth century, such as the Kallithea base described below. They were probably commissioned by wealthy families who could afford a monument far more expensive than the ready-made, mass-produced grave reliefs.⁶²

The Kallithea base consists of three plaques. The front shows a couple picking apples from a tree, and the side plaques depict Hermes Psychopompos and a priest with a

machaira. The base dates to around 420, and its subjects have been associated with Orphic and Pythagorean beliefs regarding the afterlife.⁶³ The figure-types are comparable to those on cups by the Codrus Painter. In particular, the woman on the plaque and the way her mantle is wrapped around her arms recall Manto on the Basel cup (cat. 15, pl. 9c). A contemporary base found to the southwest of the Parthenon, here called the Trophy base, depicts a Nike setting up trophies and a bearded warrior in full armor whose profile strongly resembles figures by the Codrus Painter: compare Phorbas on the Codrus cup (cat. 1, pl. 1c) and Aigeus on the Themis cup (cat. 17, pl. 8a).⁶⁴ These examples enhance our sense of how motifs and patterns circulated among sculptors and vase-painters. In the case of the Codrus Painter we can actually demonstrate not only traces of a shared artistic vocabulary, but specific figure-types in common with relief sculpture.

13.4 OTHER RELIEFS: FUNERARY AND VOTIVE

Funerary Monuments

All funerary monuments were produced with the expectation that the living would provide the necessary care for the deceased's soul.⁶⁵ The scale and elaboration of grave monuments reflected the relatives' concern and attention, demonstrating their wish to keep the memory of the deceased alive. A grave monument was a display of sorrow that also made a clear social and civic statement. Hero shrines and monuments for the war dead are a special case, rendered on a large scale and occasionally provided with illuminating inscriptions or epigraphs. Those who fell during war are never called heroes in the sources or the inscriptions. They are *andres agathoi*, maintaining the focus on the civic aspect of their sacrifice rather than stressing a religious element.⁶⁶

In the Archaic period, excelling in war, hunting, and sports was an aristocratic prerogative. Politics and battles were in the hands of noblemen, who consequently created specific images for themselves as great warriors, hunters, and athletes, embodying the ideals of *aretē*, *kleos*, and *timē*. In the fifth century the focus shifted to the *polis*. Active participation in public life and honorable sacrifice on the battlefield were the principal elements of the new ethos. The desire for *doxa* (fame) is still cultivated, but the recipient this time is not the individual or a few members of the elite, but the whole state. Citizens were prompted to give their lives for their country, adhering to the ideals of their ancestors and being rewarded with a lasting memory of their honorable death.⁶⁷ The fallen soldiers received honors; their families, fame; and the city, tangible proof of its citizens' excellence, best demonstrated through the erection of elaborate monuments. The funeral was no longer

an exclusively private affair but a publicly performed rite. The return of the soldiers' bodies to Athens is often paralleled to the repatriation of Theseus' bones (Plut. *Cim.* 8.5–6), implying the equation of their status to that of the Attic hero. Local heroes, foundation heroes, and war heroes were all invoked to take the city under their protection.⁶⁸

White-ground lekythoi, the vases typically associated with funerals in Classical Athens, rarely represent gods, heroes, or myths unrelated to death and its symbolism. Their repertory includes no depictions of legendary Attic kings or figures evoking Athenian autochthony. Their composition shares very little with the fifth-century funerary reliefs, except perhaps for ambiguity in identifying the deceased. It seems that the painters of white-ground lekythoi never quite felt the need to extend their subject matter beyond their area of specialization, thus leaving ample room for red-figure painters, such as the Codrus Painter, to experiment with themes and figure-types demonstrated in contemporary works of sculpture of both religious and funerary character. (It is ironic that our painter's most Athenian vases—for example, the Erichthonios, Codrus, and Theseus cups—were discovered in Etruscan tombs.) Though surrounded by monuments reflecting Periclean ideology, the white lekythoi painters (with few exceptions) seem to have considered autochthony and heroic myths as topics appropriate for the living rather than the dead, against the current vogue in artistic and literary production.⁶⁹

Private funerary monuments in Classical Athens were often influenced by larger public structures not necessarily of a funerary character. For example, the figure-types found on Classical grave monuments, after their reappearance in Attica in the decade between 440 and 430, depend strongly on the Parthenon frieze, while others recall the sculptures of the Nike Temple and the Erechtheion. The reliefs showing a newly introduced god, Asklepios, seem to have had a major impact on the formation of a specific figure-type, the bearded male with mantle and rod under the armpit, a figure-type frequently found in the work of the Codrus Painter (cat. 1, pl. 1b; cat. 15, pl. 9c; cat. 18, pl. 14b; cat. 19, pl. 16b).⁷⁰

Reinhart Stupperich has explored the iconography of Attic grave monuments and concluded that more warriors than ephebes are represented in the reliefs of the second half of the fifth century, and also that the extremely popular dexiosis motif originated in scenes of warriors departing and then expanded to similar compositions showing other types of separation, including death. According to the same scholar, state monuments seem to have made the most of the motif, transforming it into a symbol of the *homonoia* of the Athenian warriors.⁷¹ It occurs on at least one cup by the Codrus Painter, in a scene in which a de-

parting warrior shakes the hand of a female family member (cat. 15, pl. 9c).

As we turn from warriors to athletes, the funerary stele from Delphi showing a youth scraping the dirt from his body provides a good precedent for the figure-types of athletes employed by the Codrus Painter. The stele dates to around 440, and the depiction of the musculature, an anatomically correct representation of body parts in a tense, stretching position, places it among the finest reliefs.⁷² The interest in the male body is echoed on the Codrus Painter's vases: athletes are shown in three-quarter front and back views, in exaggerated poses, as well as in imaginative snapshots from the *apodyteria* representing youths after training. In the intermediate stage of the development of the type, between the Delphi stele and the athletes of the Codrus Painter, stand the youths from the Parthenon frieze. Thanks to the gradual evolution of this type, the Codrus Painter's athletes preserve the majestic character of the Parthenon figures and at the same time look more human, closer to the everyday youths in the palaistra.⁷³

Despite the tendency to lower the chronology of grave stelai, there are still a limited number of funerary monuments from the decade between 430 and 420 that can be used as comparanda for the figure-types of the Codrus Painter's cups. The stele of Eupheros from the Athenian Kerameikos (pl. 82) marks the grave of a youth between ten and fifteen buried with his strigils, knucklebones, and several pots.⁷⁴ The figure-type of Eupheros became quite popular, and his stance and pose find several parallels in the work of the Codrus Painter. Eupheros is depicted wearing a fringed mantle similar to the one covering the youth on the Codrus Painter's Ferrara Athletes cup (cat. 36, pl. 57c).⁷⁵

A fragmentary stele in Berlin is of particular interest for our purposes, despite the controversy over its date, style, and workmanship. It shows a man wearing a mantle, with his left hand at his chin and the right hand holding a bird. The impact of the Parthenon sculpture is clear, but the scholarly community has debated over whether it is a product of an Ionian artist who held on to Parthenonian motifs from an earlier period, and is therefore to be dated to the late fifth century, or whether the stele is Attic, on account of the "purely Attic theme [of the hand supporting the chin] which is not attested so far before the last decade of the century."⁷⁶ This very same gesture is illustrated on the exterior of the Cambridge cup by the Codrus Painter (cat. 54, pl. 23b), where a satyr amazed at the sight of the youth identified as Theseus brings his hand under his chin in a pose that mirrors that of the bearded man on the relief in Berlin. This gesture characterizes a contemplative, bewildered figure and, depending on context, can symbolize confusion or grief.⁷⁷

Additional figure-types commonly found in the work

of the Codrus Painter and his Circle and originating from sculptural prototypes allow one to argue for a literal exchange of figure-types rather than a loosely defined shared artistic environment. For instance, the motif of women using the back fold of their peplos as a veil is found on the stele of Polyxena (420–410)⁷⁸ and on cups by the Codrus Painter (cat. 15, pl. 9a–c; and cf. cat. 87, pl. 29a–c). With regard to female drapery, the seated goddesses on the Divine Banquet cup (cat. 3, pl. 10a–c) can be compared to a funerary stele in Leiden (ca. 420), which shows a young woman in a peplos delivering a child to a seated female figure.⁷⁹

When it comes to battle scenes, the repertory of the Codrus Painter is extremely limited. The Battlefield cup attributed to a hand Near his (cat. 92, pl. 31a–c) is the most suitable for comparison with similar relief representations, such as the one carved on a marble memorial stele from the Demosion Sema dated to 420–410 and commemorating the members of the Athenian cavalry who fell during the Peloponnesian War.⁸⁰ Another good parallel comes from a funerary relief found in Dekeleia. It shows a bearded warrior (Lisas the Tegean), with a pilos and an exomis, striding to the right, protected with his shield and aiming his spear against an unseen opponent.⁸¹

The Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek houses a fragmentary relief that is considered to be among the earliest Classical grave stelai (pl. 83). It preserves a bearded man, wearing a chiton and a chlamys, who is clearly influenced by the Parthenon sculpture.⁸² A stele from Megara depicts a similar bearded warrior, of rather large size, wearing an exomis and a mantle that hangs from his shoulder (pl. 84). He carries a shield, spear, and a folded pilos, while the object near his feet is difficult to identify. Usually it is thought to be an *eschara*, which reinforces the figure's heroic character and implies some type of cult ritual in his honor.⁸³ The type of a warrior with a chlamys is not uncommon in the repertory of the Codrus Painter. However, precise parallels to the bearded man with an exomis are lacking, since most of his figures are youths depicted in heroic nudity or warriors of the same figure-type as those on the funerary reliefs from Cyrene and Karystos.⁸⁴

A grave relief in Malibu depicts Philoxenos performing the dexiosis with Philomene (pl. 85). Thanks to the preservation of his name, we can tentatively date the relief between 428–422 and 410–409, since the same name appears in the casualty lists for those years. The figure-type of Philomene has no parallel among the female figures of the Codrus Painter and his Circle, but Philoxenos resembles Codrus and Phorbas, from his namepiece (cat. 1, pl. 1a and c).⁸⁵

Certain athletic youths and warriors of the Codrus Painter can be matched with the figures of Chaeredemos and Lykeas depicted on the stele from Salamis (pl. 86).

Chaeredemos is the youth in the foreground, shown nude and carrying his shield, spear, and mantle. He contrasts with the dressed and perhaps older figure of Lykeas in the background. Even though the tendency is to down-date the stele, the clear Polykleitan traits of Chaeredemos argue for a date around 420 rather than later in the century. Both names are attested in casualty lists, but attempts to identify Lykeas with the trierarch who fell in Asia Minor in 411 and Chaeredemos with the name on a casualty list of ca. 410 remain inconclusive.⁸⁶ Most of the Codrus Painter's warrior figures follow the naked-hero type with the more or less slim proportions of Chaeredemos and are set in three-quarter view or profile.⁸⁷

Female figure-types from reliefs appear to have had minimal influence on the repertory of the Codrus Painter and his Circle. The fragmentary relief of a maiden in the National Museum of Athens dated to the 420s is indicative of the sculptural traits of the period (pl. 87). The girl wears a fine chiton and a peplos and carries a pyxis, from which she pulls out some jewelry. Her hairstyle has no parallel among the female figures of the Codrus Painter, since her ribbon holds only part of her hair and lets the rest fall loosely down the back, perhaps an indication of her youth.⁸⁸ Her peplos and the elaborate folds vaguely recall the figure of Artemis on the tondo of the Brauron cup (cat. 20, pl. 11a), while her gaze and the tilting of her head can be compared to those of Themis on the homonymous cup (cat. 17, pl. 8a).

Finally, some women on the Codrus Painter's cups can be associated with the drapery and hairstyle of a particular type of female figure carved on a stele from the Kerameikos. The relief shows a woman looking at herself in a mirror, dressed in a chiton, a belted peplos with an elaborate overfold that echoes the Parthenon frieze, and a mantle attached at her shoulders. Her hair is tightly wrapped in a fillet and *sphendone*, which covers part of her neck: compare, for example, the female figure-types on the Basel cup (cat. 15, pl. 9b–c); Medea on the Codrus cup (cat. 1, pl. 1c), and the woman on the exterior of the Cassandra cup (cat. 19, pl. 16c).⁸⁹

Votive Reliefs

The votive reliefs discussed here are by no means exhaustive of the material available.⁹⁰ The sample was chosen primarily on grounds of date and similarity of figure-types and subject matter to the cups by the Codrus Painter. The special relationship between the Divine Banquet cup (cat. 3, pl. 10) and the Totenmahlreliefs is discussed in chapter 7.⁹¹

The great relief from Eleusis is often considered to have a votive rather than a cult character. The calm, majestic figures of Demeter, Kore, and Triptolemos can all be associated with figure-types from the work of the Codrus Painter.⁹² More precisely, the figure usually identified as

Triptolemos on the relief is comparable to the youth on the extreme right on the cup in the Hermitage (cat. 105, pl. 55b). Demeter strongly recalls the goddess in the tondo of the Brauron cup (cat. 20, pl. 11a), while the head and gaze of Kore can be compared to the figure of Themis in the tondo of the cup in Berlin (cat. 17, pl. 8a).

A fragmentary relief from Spata dated to 442–438 depicts two hunters killing a deer. The two men were identified as Otos and Ephialtes, the two sons of Poseidon who assaulted Artemis and were later punished by Apollo, who caused them to kill each other in their attempt to capture a deer sent by the god. The vigorous pacing of the figures and the multiple angles of their bodies can be compared to the animated hunters on the exterior of the Themis cup (cat. 17, pl. 8b–c).⁹³

Of great iconographic interest is the relief in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, which was allegedly found in either Phaleron or Piraeus and dates to ca. 420 (pl. 89).⁹⁴ From right to left, a bearded man with a mantle rests on a short staff, now lost, and next to him stands a female figure, represented frontally, wearing a peplos and a mantle that she lifts with her left hand as she unveils herself. She is followed by another woman, in profile, who rests one hand on the previous woman's shoulder and the other on her own waist. The last well-preserved figure is a youth shown in three-quarter frontal view facing toward the women, while a mantle slips off his shoulders. His right arm is broken off near the shoulder, while some traces of a hard-to-identify object are still visible at the back of his head. Little remains of the last figure, who is clad in a long mantle, but he should be identified as a worshipper because of his small scale. The treatment of the male body and both the stance and the drapery of the unveiling woman indicate that the relief is the work of one of Phidias' pupils, perhaps Agorakritos. The Copenhagen relief reproduces many of the figure-types found on the fragmentary reliefs decorating the statue base of Nemesis at Rhamnous.

Regardless of the identity of the figures, the style is close to that of the Codrus Painter, and especially to his early works. The woman in profile with her hand on her waist is a developed version of Melite on the Codrus cup (cat. 1, pl. 1b) and can also be compared to the woman with scepter in the tondo of the Brauron cup (cat. 20, pl. 11a), while the bearded man recalls strongly Aigeus on the Themis cup (cat. 17, pl. 8a). The woman unveiling herself brings to mind the figure with the same gesture on the Phrixos cup (cat. 4, pl. 15c) and possibly Herse from the Erichthonios cup (cat. 2, pl. 3b). Finally, the youth can be compared to the athletic and heroic youths produced by the Codrus Painter and his Circle (e.g., cat. 4, pl. 15b–c).

Numerous votive reliefs of the decades between 440 and 420 show riders or youths leading horses, a motif that in-

dicates the influence of the Phidian School,⁹⁵ since undeniably the largest source of similar figure-types was the Parthenon frieze. Erika Simon argues that these young riders represent the much praised Athenian ephebes, whose importance was manifested not only in their military training but also in religious processions.⁹⁶ The ex-Charterhouse cup attributed to a hand Near the Codrus Painter confirms that vase-painters did not remain unaffected by this tendency (cat. 94, pl. 30a–c). The ex-Charterhouse horsemen can be compared to the rider relief from Thespiiai (ca. 430). Of similar concept and almost contemporary date is the votive relief from Aigina showing a youth behind his horse, as well as the relief from Kythera with a youth putting the reins on his horse (pl. 90), and the marble lekythos from Salamis.⁹⁷

Lastly, some interesting observations can be made regarding the iconography of a youth with a pilos. The stance and headgear of Theseus in the tondo of the Basel cup (cat. 15, pl. 9a) recall the Melian relief in Berlin and anticipate two reliefs from around the turn of the fifth century: the funerary relief of Sosias and Kephisodoros and the votive relief of Sosippos in the Louvre.⁹⁸ The uninterrupted reproduction of the same hero-type found on the cups of the Codrus Painter and used throughout the later fifth and fourth centuries presupposes a particular image of Theseus, taken from a larger-scale composition, which codified all the qualities of the hero and became a key image for his worship. One such high-caliber work capable of a long-lasting influence on the artistic production may have been the famous painting of Parrhasios in the late fifth century.⁹⁹

13.5 CONCLUSION

The joint examination of sculptural production of the second half of the fifth century and the vases attributed to the Codrus Painter and his Circle reveals an interesting aspect of our vase-painter: the successful application of figure-types and subjects from sculpture. Most of his cups show distinct and lingering preferences for the motifs originally found in the Parthenon frieze, while the few cups with battle or hunting scenes can be compared to the Hephaisteion frieze or later relief works. The motif of the handshake, characteristic of funerary (and often document) reliefs, is also found in abundance on his compositions, which supports further the association of his vase paintings with sculptural works. His repertory was inspired both by state-sponsored works, such as architectural reliefs and temple decoration, and by privately funded monuments, such as funerary and votive bases and reliefs. Divine births, local heroes, and minor deities enjoy a prominent place on his cups, just as they are commonly found on Phidian works (e.g., cult statue bases) and, above all, in the sculptural program of the Erechtheion. Often the representation of he-

roic warriors, athletes, and women on the Codrus Painter's vases recalls particular sculptural figure-types, an observation that allows one to argue not only for a shared artistic environment but also for a case-specific exchange of models.¹⁰⁰

The close observation of patterns employed in sculpture and their reuse in ceramic production suggests that

the Codrus Painter was familiar with the world of sculptors and particularly the workshop of Phidias. Whether this knowledge implies the kind of personal relationship or professional collaboration that occurred in the case of other painters and sculptors (e.g., Panainos and Phidias, whose relationship is noted above in this chapter) is impossible to say.

The Codrus Painter was a distinctive Athenian vase-painter of the second half of the fifth century BCE. His drawing, accurate and detailed in his early works, gradually decreased in vivacity and precision. A comparison with his contemporaries shows that he has some affinities with the Eretria Painter, a significant impact on the style of Aison, and a noticeable influence on Aristophanes and other minor cup-painters. He had close ties with painters of large shapes, such as the Dinos Painter, the Peleus Painter, and others from the Group of Polygnotos, judging from the similarities of their work.

The corpus of vases produced by the Codrus Painter and his Circle can be organized into four phases, based on chronological and stylistic observations. I have questioned some attributions to the Codrus Painter, while vases and fragments previously considered to be in his Manner have been reconsidered.

Everyday scenes, mainly athletes and youths in the palaistra, attracted the interest of the Codrus Painter and his Circle and are found on most of the vases attributed to them. Fresh and original in the beginning, the athletic compositions gradually declined in liveliness and energy and eventually, in the hands of his followers, become monotonous and repetitive. Thiasoi of satyrs and maenads, Dionysos and his court, and images derived from theatrical productions had an appeal for the Codrus Painter and his Circle. One of his finest and largest cups represents the god of wine and his consort, while two cups depict scenes associated with satyr plays, and at least one is inspired by a tragedy.

These vases by the Codrus Painter are reflections of Athenian society, mirroring contemporary concerns with warfare, athletics, and religion. To his hand are attributed some of the most intriguing episodes of Athenian myth-

ology, portraying legendary kings and patriotic heroes, as well as more generic scenes of warriors departing for battle, engaged in battle, or making a libation with the help of a woman. The political and military realities of the decade between 440 and 430 meant that Athenian households experienced similar departure scenes. It was in the same period, when the male adult population of Athens was leaving home to fight in the Peloponnesian War, that heroic figures were evoked as role models in literature and the visual arts. The Codrus Painter followed this same trend, as he extended the imagery of heroes and their sacrifices to young Athenian warriors ready to die defending their city. He was active in a society that was imbued with the glorious memories of the Persian Wars and was soon to be engaged in another monumental conflict. Athens' talented leader, Pericles, promoted the city's supremacy on all levels and entrusted the sculptor Phidias with the artistic realization of this vision. Surrounded by this flourishing of the arts, the Codrus Painter imprinted on clay the most characteristic aspects of the society that was unfolding around him, often under the cloak of mythological episodes.

Monumental painting must have had an important influence on the Codrus Painter's work, as one may assume from the ample use of inscriptions and three-dimensional rendering of figures. The use of dilute glaze for details, the ornate drapery and hair, as well as the careful depiction of musculature and jewelry all support this argument. Although it is hard to prove, his Triton cup (cat. 18, pl. 14) and Cassandra cup (cat. 19, pl. 16) are two examples of vases that may have originated from well-known monumental paintings.

Sculpture—and especially the Parthenon sculptures and relief cult statue bases by the Phidian workshop—had a clear influence on the vases attributed to the Codrus Painter and his Circle, in terms not only of style, but also

of subject.¹ Heroic figures and myths carved on stone were eloquently translated into the language of vase paintings as the Codrus Painter incorporated into his compositions legendary kings like Erechtheus, Codrus, and Ainetos and mighty heroes like Theseus and Aias. What makes these vases even more fascinating is the fact that their iconography resonated also with non-Greek people, and particularly the Etruscans.

The absence of great divine conflicts from the Codrus Painter's repertory² may be explained not only as a matter of personal taste, but also and more importantly as a decision dictated by the market. Illustrations of men exercising or preparing for war were preferred over the grand scale of divine battles, possibly because the former would have been more easily understood and appropriated by local, non-Greek societies. This feature increased the salability of a vase and rendered it purchasable by more than one foreign market. If the Codrus Painter's choice of subject was indeed profit-driven, then this also accounts for the typically Athenian subjects of his work, like the birth of Erichthonios or the deeds of Theseus, which were in equally high demand among the learned clientele throughout the Mediterranean, and particularly in Etruria.

One might think of Phidias as an artist who officially served the state. The Codrus Painter was not a public art-

ist in that sense, but he was deeply influenced by the contemporary flourishing of all the arts. He was talented enough to establish his own style and to separate himself from other vase-painters by being one of the best representatives of the Phidian style in pottery. Perhaps this was why most of his works were found outside Greece, mainly in Etruria and in other Mediterranean sites, while most contemporary vase-painters produced equally for Greek markets (i.e., Athens, Attica, Euboea, and the Aegean islands) and non-Greek ones—or even predominantly for the Greek markets. Attic subjects depicted on the Codrus Painter's cups, along with his Dionysiac subjects, palaistra scenes, and even unusual compositions such as the Divine Banquet cup, would have been perceived as typically Athenian, typically phidianizing, and thus highly appropriate for export. The Codrus Painter and his Circle did not cater to the needs of an Athenian or even a local Greek clientele. Once exported to other prosperous Mediterranean centers in Etruria, South Italy, and further west, however, their vases found purchasers who wished to demonstrate their affiliation with Athens and the Greek world. The work of the Codrus Painter clearly stands out among the Athenian vase-painters of the second half of the fifth century, making the lack of an inscription with his name today even more unfortunate.

Appendix

Kalos Names and Other Inscriptions

A part from the obvious importance of inscriptions for helping us to identify persons and scenes that might otherwise be difficult to recognize, they also have a semantic value: an inscription matches a figure with a name, thus creating a specific character, mortal or divine. The significance of the so-called kalos inscriptions is even more substantial, since the formula used to praise the beauty of a youth depicted on a vase—for example, “Xenon kalos”—often becomes a dating tool for the whole cup as well as the context in which it was found. Moreover, vase paintings adorned with inscriptions reflect a practice common in monumental paintings and reliefs, thus offering us a glimpse of works long lost.

The inscriptions on vases attributed to the Codrus Painter are usually written in purple, which has either turned to gray over the centuries or completely faded, as in the case of the Dionysos and Xenon cups (cat. 53, pl. 21; cat. 37, pl. 47). Henry Immerwahr speaks of “small, neat letters” on the painter’s mythological cups, and he points out the use of the Ionic alphabet.¹ The letter forms are more or less consistent, with the exception of five types of *alpha* (with the middle bar horizontal, vertical, leaning against the left bar, leaning against the right bar, or with a dot instead of a middle bar), two versions of *upsilon* (with an elongated vertical bar or a V-shaped one), two types of *gamma*, two of *rho*, and two of *sigma* (three-bar and four-bar). The *chi* is transcribed as a horizontal bar with dots on either side, and the *epsilon* usually has four bars. Two different versions of a letter can be found on the same cup or even forming the same word, as in the case of the inscriptions on the Codrus, Erichthonios, and Divine Banquet cups (cat. 1, 2, and 3). There is no indication of rough breathing, as one would expect for the names of

Hephaistos and Herse, although Hera and Eos are spelled with an *eta*.² There is also a graffito—an *AK* (*alpha-kappa*) ligature—on the supporting surface of the Themis cup (cat. 17), probably an abbreviation for a name. A *kappa* is inscribed on the base of the Cassandra cup in the Louvre (cat. 19), which, however, is not the cup’s original foot. I was unable to find good parallels for these graffiti. The closest examples are the ligatures on a type A amphora by Euthymides from Vulci and a Nolan amphora attributed to the Group of Polygnotos.³

Problems concerning the reading of inscriptions and how they affect the interpretation of a scene are discussed in the relevant chapters above. Even though the Codrus Painter is quite fond of naming gods, heroes, and members of the Dionysiac entourage, there are only few kalos inscriptions. To be more precise, only one kalos name is attested with certainty. It appears in the tondo of a cup in the British Museum (cat. 37), praising a young athlete: “Xenon Kalos.”

Three more cups may bear a kalos name—the Eriboia cup, the fragmentary cup in Basel, and the cup from Lucca—but one must point out that the word *kalos* does not follow the names of the youths (cat. 15, pl. 9b–c; cat. 25, pl. 40b; cat. 26, pl. 41a). The reading of the Eriboia cup as an episode from the Theban cycle (or perhaps a gathering of Attic local heroes) was largely based on the names of heroes inscribed on the exterior. One name in particular has consistently puzzled scholars, and it remains unparalleled today, despite several attempts to supply the missing letters: M[AN]TENIOΣ. The inscription is found on side A next to the head of a youth conversing with a woman. Since this name is not attested anywhere else, it might actually be of non-Greek origin. There is also the

possibility that it is the first part of a kalos inscription, as there is enough space for a second “line,” where the word *kalos* could have been inscribed.⁴

The fragmentary cup in Basel (cat. 25, pl. 40b) shows an athlete scraping dirt from his body with a strigil, while the inscription next to him reads “Charmides.”⁵ The kalos name Charmides is usually found on Nolan amphoras by the Nikon Painter (460–450) and the Charmides Painter (470–460), but rarely on lekythoi or cups. The youth is often shown among other beautiful and praiseworthy men of the period, such as Kallias, Timoxenos, Glaukon, and Teisias.⁶ The Charmides praised by the Codrus Painter is obviously not the same figure as the popular athletic youth of the Early Classical period, but he could be a descendant, perhaps a grandson with the same name and beauty.

Some of the fragments of the cup found in the cave of Castelvenere in Lucca preserve traces of inscriptions (cat. 26).⁷ On a fragment from the exterior we read [ΑΣ]ΤΟΣ, on another [ΚΑ]ΛΟΣ, and on a third]ΛΥΚΟΣ (pl. 41a). The two last words probably described the beauty of the youth shown in three-quarter frontal view and standing in a position similar to that of Charmides on the cup in Basel. A search in the Beazley Archive Database and an examination of the kalos names gathered by Beazley show that the name Lykos was popular among early red-figure painters, but this was not the case after the 480s. The inscription “Lykos kalos” can refer to the beauty of youths, athletes, or warriors, and it is usually found on cups by Onesimos and on a few by the Antiphon Painter.

Because of the fragmentary state of the Codrus Painter’s kylix,]ΛΥΚΟΣ could be the surviving latter part of an athlete’s name, such as Epilykos, a name found on at least twenty cups (mainly by Skythes),⁸ or Autolykos. It is noteworthy that there is also literary evidence of a famous pankratiast of the late fifth century by the name of Autolykos, son of Lykos. Whether the figure depicted on the Codrus Painter’s cup is an image of Autolykos himself, his father, or an athlete as beautiful as the famous victor is difficult to tell. Nonetheless, it is a fortunate coincidence that in this case literary sources and illustrations appear to complement each other. The victories of Autolykos, along with his appearance and personality, inspired both philosophers and playwrights, and they often criticized the tendency of the 420s to give more honor to the men who train their bodies than to those who exercise their minds. If Autolykos had such an impact on the era’s literary production, it should come as no surprise to see his legend reflected on contemporary vase paintings, too.⁹

Most inscriptions are found on vases from the early and

middle phase of the Codrus Painter’s career. It is thanks to this identification of gods, local heroes, and other mythological figures that we are able today to recognize scenes that would otherwise be impossible to decipher. Unfortunately the bulk of his palaistra protagonists remain unnamed.

Certain figures are almost always named, such as mythical kings of Athens (e.g., Aigeus, Ainetos, Erechtheus, Codrus, Pallas), Attic and non-Attic heroes (e.g., Aias, Phorbas, Theseus and Phrixos, the Dioskouroi, Thersandros), and personifications of demes (e.g., Melite). The names of deities are clearly indicated to the left or right of the figure; in the case of Dionysos, even members of his thiasos have their names inscribed. Last, the Codrus Painter represents a wide spectrum of personifications such as Pothos, Peitho, Komos, Paidia, Tragoedia, and Kissos, usually found within a Dionysiac context.

The practice of naming figures even when they are easily recognizable from their attributes, as in the case of such well-known mythological scenes as the birth of Erichthonios and the rape of Cassandra, is probably an influence from monumental painting and reliefs, where inscriptions were broadly used (cat. 2, pl. 3a–c; cat. 19, pl. 16a). This tendency demonstrates that the inscriptions played a vital part in the scene as a whole and were not used only as a means of clarification. It was the painter’s choice; he could name his figures in order to avoid ambiguity or omit them and leave it to the viewer to interpret, for example, a departure scene as an illustration of a real event or as a mythological episode.

The possibility that more inscriptions once were present but have now faded away blurs our final conclusions. On the whole, it seems that the Codrus Painter, unlike other members of his workshop, was familiar and comfortable with this practice. An interesting question arises once we compare his Theseus cup (cat. 16, pl. 5a–b) to the similar cup by Aison (pl. 7a–b). Both vases are cycle cups, depicting the same deeds and possibly following the same prototype. The compositional discrepancies between them are minor, but what must be stressed is the different concept behind each cup. Aison named each and every figure represented, inscribing the name of Theseus alone six times.¹⁰ He obviously considered this piece one of his best, since he signed it in a prominent place in the tondo. The Theseus cup by the Codrus Painter bears no inscriptions and, much to our regret, no signature. It appears that Aison was striving to set himself apart from his teacher, the Codrus Painter, and perhaps his ornate cycle cup in Madrid was an attempt to surpass previous painters as well.

CATALOGUE

Catalogue entries follow the model below:

Catalogue number—Name

Plate or figure number

Bibliography: Attributions are Beazley's unless otherwise indicated (e.g. [Lezzi-Hafter]).

Current collection

Provenance

Dimensions (Shape): H. (height); Diam. (diameter without handles); W. (width); max. p. dim. (maximum preserved dimension); fr. or frr. (fragment[s]). All items are cups unless otherwise indicated. In some cases detailed data were unavailable.

Subject: Interior (I), exterior (Ext), side A, side B.

VASES BY THE CODRUS PAINTER—PHASE I, CA. 440–430 BCE
1—The Codrus Cup

Plate 1a–c

Bibliography: ARV²1268.1; *Add.*² 356; CVA Bologna 1 III i, 8–9, pls. 19–22 (L. Laurinisch); Dugas 1930, 47–52, fig. 5; Kron 1976, 137, pls. 15.1, 16; Immerwahr 1990, 113, no. 785; Servadei 2005, 62–63, fig. 22.

Current collection: Bologna, M. Civico PU273 (Coll. Palagi 1152)

Provenance: Vulci

Dimensions (Shape): H. 12.5 cm; Diam. 32.5 cm (cup type B)

Subject: Departure of Warriors. I, ΑΙΝΕΤΟΣ, ΚΟΔΡΟΣ. A, Warriors departing, all named: ΑΙΤΕΥΣ, ΘΕΣΕΥΣ, ΜΕΔΕΑ, ΦΟΡΒΑΣ, ΑΙΘΡΑ. B, Warriors departing, all named: ΛΥΚΟΣ, ΑΙΑΣ, Α[Θ]ΕΝΑΙΑ, ΜΕΝΕΣΘ[Ε]ΥΣ, ΜΕΛΙΤΕ.

2—The Erichthonios Cup

Plate 3a–c

Bibliography: ARV²1268.2 [Furtwängler], 1689; *Add.*² 356; CVA Berlin 3 (1962), 14, pl. 113 (A. Greifenhagen); Kron 1976, 90ff., 101f.; Loeb 1979, 171; Seki 1985, 85, no. 412, pl. 35.1–3; Immerwahr 1990, 113–14, no. 786; Reeder 1995, 258–60.

Current collection: Berlin, Antikensammlung F2537

Provenance: Tarquinia

Dimensions (Shape): H. 12 cm; Diam. 31.5 cm (cup type B)

Subject: Birth of Erichthonios. I, ΗΕΩΣ, ΚΕΦΑΛΟΣ. Ext., Birth of Erichthonios, ΚΕΚΡΟΥ, ΓΕ, ΕΡΙΧΘΟΝΙΟΣ, ΑΘΗΝΑΙΑ, [Η]ΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ, ΕΡΣΕ, [ΑΓ]ΛΑΥΡΟΣ, ΕΡΕΧ<Θ>ΕΥΣ, ΠΑΝΔ[ΡΟΣΟΣ], [ΑΙ]ΓΕΥΣ, ΠΑΛΛ[Α]Σ.

3—The Divine Banquet Cup

Plate 10a–c

Bibliography: ARV²1269.3 [Smith]; *Add.*² 356; Dugas 1930, 52, fig. 6; Seki 1985, 85, no. 415; Immerwahr 1990, 114, no. 787; Carpenter 1995, 145–63; Avramidou 2006.

Current collection: London, British Museum E821847.9–9.6

Provenance: Vulci

Dimensions (Shape): H. 12.3 cm Diam. 32 cm (cup type B)

Subject: Divine Banquet. I, ΠΛΟΥΤΩΝ, ΦΕΡΡΕΦΑΤΤΑ. A, ΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ, ΑΜΦΙΤΡΙΤΗ, ΖΕΥΣ, ΗΡΑ, [ΓΑ]ΝΥΜΕΔΕΣ. B, ΑΡΕΣ, ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΕ, ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ, ΑΡΙΑΔΝΕ, ΚΩΜΟΣ.

4—The Phrixos Cup

Plate 15a–c

Bibliography: ARV²1269.7; CVA Florence 1, III, I, 17–18, no. 269 (D. Levi); Beazley 1931, 52, no. 42; Beazley 1933, 23, pl. 15;

Greifenhagen 1976, 10–11, figs. 2–7; Schefold 1989, 17, fig. 3.

Current collection: Florence, M. Naz. 15B24 (151496)

Provenance: unknown

Dimensions: Frr. Max. p. W. of assembled fragments ca. 20 cm

Subject: I, Phrixos (ΦΡΙΞΟΣ). A & B, Dioskouroi departing, draped men with horses, women with phialai, ΛΕΔΑ, [Π]ΟΛΥΔΕΥΚΕΣ, [ΤΥΝΔΑ]ΡΕΟΣ.

5—The New York Cup

Plate 24

Bibliography: ARV²1270.9; Richter and Hall 1936, 179–80, pl. 145, no. 142.

Current collection: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
19.192.46

Provenance: unknown

Dimensions: Fr. H. 5.7 cm; W. 12.1 cm

Subject: Two youths with chlamydes, spears, and petasos;
woman with phialai.

6—The Tübingen Cup

Plate 25

Bibliography: ARV²1270.10 [Watzinger]; *Add.*² 356; CVA
Tübingen 5, 42, pl. 17.3 (J. Burow).

Current collection: Tübingen, Eberhard-Karls University, Arch.
Inst. E142

Provenance: unknown

Dimensions: Fr. H. 4.8 cm; W. 5.8 cm

Subject: Warrior departing and part of a draped figure.

7—The Acropolis Fragment

Plate 4

Bibliography: Graef and Langlotz 1933, 2:47, pl. 39.526;
Langlotz attributed the cup to Compare to the Codrus Painter.

Current collection: Athens, Nat. M. Acropolis Coll. E98

Provenance: Acropolis

Dimensions (Shape): Fr. H. 5 cm (Skyphos)

Subject: Man, column.

8—The Montereoggi Cup

Plate 26a–b

Bibliography: *L'abitato*, 52–53, nos. 165, 166 (with illustrations).

Current collection: Montereoggi MG.85.A7.102.1–3, 5–10,
possibly also frr. MG.85.A7.102.4, 12.

Provenance: Montereoggi

Dimensions: Frr. Max. p. dim. ca. 10 cm

Subject: A, Woman with phiale and hand of second figure. B,
Men.

9—The Seesaw Cup

Plate 72

Bibliography: ARV²1271.38 (bis); *Para.* 472; Bothmer 1961,
pl. 90, no. 250.

Current collection: New York, I. Love Coll.

Provenance: unknown

Dimensions (Shape): H. 7.9 cm (cup type B)

Subject: I, Woman playing seesaw. A, Two women and a man (?).
B, Three women, suspended sash.

10A—The Astarita Cup

Plate 17

Bibliography: ARV²1269.6; Beazley 1960, 219; Immerwahr 1990,
114, no. 789; Shapiro 1993, 200, fig. 161.

Current collection: Vatican City, M. Vaticano AST124–7 IN
35082–5.

Provenance: unknown

Dimensions: Frr. Max. p. dim. ca. 8 cm

Subject: Frr. A–D, Prometheus—ΠΡΟΜΗ[ΘΕΥΣ], Athena—
ΑΘΗΝ[ΑΙΑ], Leda—ΛΗΔΑ, draped man with staff, woman,
Pan, Peitho—ΠΕΙΘΩ.

10B—The Timandra Fragments

Figure 3.6

Current collection: Vatican City, M. Vaticano IN Aug 13

The Timandra fragments belong to a different cup, perhaps by
the Codrus Painter. Fr. 1: two female heads, one in three-
quarter view, the other in profile, badly preserved; inscription:
TIMANΔPA. Fr. 2: female head in three-quarter view, letters
preserved: Ε Σ (three-bar).

Bibliography: Shapiro 1993, 200, fig. 161.

11—The Tampa Cup

Plate 18

Bibliography: Murray 1985, 47, no. 83 [Oakley].

Current collection: Tampa, Museum of Art W 0.124

Provenance: unknown

Dimensions: Fr. Max. p. dim. 12.3 cm

Subject: Ext, part of warrior (?) facing old male figure, woman.

12—The Altenburg Cup

Plate 27a–c

Bibliography: ARV²1270.14; CVA Altenburg 2, 21, pl. 70 (E.
Bielefeld).

Current collection: Altenburg, Lindenau-M. 232

Provenance: Nola

Dimensions (Shape): H. 11 cm; Diam. 24 cm (cup type E, heavily
restored)

Subject: I, Hermes and a draped man or youth. A, Herakles with
horses. B, Hoplite departing, shaking hands with a draped
man, a column between them, warrior leading horse.

13

Plate 12

Bibliography: ARV²1270.8.

Current collection: Florence, M. Naz. PD64–65 (153048)

Provenance: Populonia

Dimensions: Frr. Max. p. dim. 2.8 x 2.5 cm, 5.7 x 4.8 cm

Subject: I, Foot of a figure. Ext, Draped figure with scepter.
Palmette.

14

Bibliography: Unpublished [Lezzi-Hafter].

Current collection: Basel, H. Cahn Coll., HC 704.

Provenance: unknown

Dimensions (Shape): Frr. (cup type E)

Subject: I, Part of ivy wreath. Ext: Maenad with thyrsos and
kantharos, satyr.

PHASE II, CA. 430–420 BCE

15—The Basel Cup

Plate 9a–c

Bibliography: *Add.*² 357; *Para.* 472 [Cahn]; CVA Basel 2, 49,
pls. 30; 31, 1–3; 37, 4, 8; 40, 1 (V. Slehoferova); Berger 1968,
63, 125; Kron 1988, 291, n. 1; Immerwahr 1990, 114, no. 791;
Servadei 2005, 183, fig. 80 [E. Berger].

Current collection: Basel, Antikenmuseum, Samml. Ludwig
BS432

Provenance: unknown

Dimensions (Shape): H. 12.2 cm; Diam. 32.8 cm (cup type B)
Subject: I, Θ[Η]ΣΕΥΣ, Α[ΡΤ]ΕΙΑ. A, Youths departing,
ΕΠΙΒΟΙΑ, ΤΕΛΑΜΩΝ, Μ[—]ΤΕΝΙΟΣ. B, Departure of
Alkmaion, ΝΕΑΝΙΑΣ, [Α]ΠΟΛΛΩΝ, ΘΕΡΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ.

16—The Theseus Cycle Cup

Plate 5a–b

Bibliography: ARV² 1269.4 [Hauser]; *Add.*² 356; Smith 1881;
Kardara 1951; Seki 1985, 86, no. 414; Neils 1987, 117–21, no.
94, fig. 63; Seki 1988, 585–86; Taylor 1991, 53; Olmos 1992;
von den Hoff 2002, 331–37; Servadei 2005, 51, fig. 19.

Current collection: London, British Museum E84

Provenance: Vulci

Dimensions (Shape): H. 10.3 cm; Diam. 32.7 cm (cup type B)

Subject: I, Theseus and Minotaur; I frieze, Deeds of Theseus. A
& B, Deeds of Theseus.

17—The Themis Cup

Plate 8a–c

Bibliography: ARV² 1269.5; 1689; *Add.*² 356; *Para.* 471; Dugas
1930, 56–60, fig. 7; Kron 1976, 127, pl. 15, 2; Seki 1985, 85, no.
415, pl. 34, 1–3; Schefold 1988, 234, fig. 282–83; Schefold 1989,
47–49; Immerwahr 1990, 114, no. 788; Shapiro 1993, 221–22.

Current collection: Berlin, Antikensammlung F2538

Provenance: Vulci

Dimensions (Shape): H. 12.5 cm; Diam. 32 cm (cup type B)

Subject: I, ΘΕΜΙΣ, ΑΙ(Γ)ΕΥΣ. A, Kalydonian boar hunt, [Μ]
ΕΛΕΑ[ΓΡ]ΟΣ. B, ΠΕΛΕΥ[Σ], Peleus and other men hunting a
deer.

18—The Triton Cup

Plate 14a–c

Bibliography: ARV² 1270.12; Riccioni 1982, 63–73, figs. 2–4.

Current collection: Ferrara, M. Naz. di Spina T416BVPA (15365)

Provenance: Spina

Dimensions (Shape): H. 12.7 cm; Diam. 32.3 cm (cup type B)

Subject: I, Poseidon and Triton. A & B, Youths departing.

19—The Cassandra Cup

Plate 16a–c

Bibliography: ARV² 1270.11; *Add.*² 356; Pottier 1897–1922,
3:269, pl. 148; Dugas 1930, 60–62, fig. 8; Immerwahr 1990,
114, no. 790; Mangold 2000, 56–57, fig. 35.

Current collection: Paris, Louvre G 458

Provenance: Etruria

Dimensions (Shape): H. 11.7 cm; Diam. 32.6 cm (cup type B)—
foot ancient but does not belong to cup.

Subject: I, Rape of Cassandra, ΑΙΑΣ, ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΑ. A, Youths
departing, women with libation vessels. B, Youths departing,
draped man, woman with phiale. Graffito [K (?)] inscribed on
bottom of foot.

20—The Brauron Cup

Plate 11a–b

Bibliography: ARV² 1689.39 (bis); *Para.* 472; Kahil 1963, esp. 17,
pl. 10.2, 4.

Current collection: Brauron, Arch. Museum A34

Provenance: Brauron

Dimensions: Fr. H. 2.6 cm; W. 13.4 cm

Subject: I, Two goddesses. A, Apollo (?) and goddesses. B,
Goddess with scepter.

21—The Tarquinia Cup

Plate 20

Bibliography: ARV² 1270.16.

Current collection: Tarquinia, M. Naz. di Tarquinia RC2977

Provenance: Tarquinia

Dimensions: Fr. Max. p. dim. 14.5 cm

Subject: Satyr and maenad dancing.

22—The Herakles Cup

Plate 22a–c

Bibliography: ARV² 1270.15; *Add.*² 356; Riccioni 1982, 63–73,
figs. 5–7.

Current collection: Ferrara, M. Naz. di Spina T269CVPA (57352)

Provenance: Spina

Dimensions (Shape): H. 11 cm; Diam. 27.5 cm (cup type B)

Subject: I, Maenad and satyr making libation. A & B, Satyrs
stealing the arms of sleeping, beardless Herakles.

23—The Louvre Nike Cup

Plate 32a–b

Bibliography: ARV² 1270.18.

Current collection: Paris, Louvre CP 11941

Provenance: unknown

Dimensions: Fr.

Subject: I, Nike with wreath crowning victor. A & B, Athletes,
draped figure.

24—The Apodyterion Cup

Plate 34

Bibliography: ARV² 1270.19; *Add.*² 356; Gardiner 1930, fig. 47
(I, drawing); E. Kotera-Freyer, *Die Strigilis* (Frankfurt: Peter
Lang, 1991), figs. 15a–b; Miller 2004, 109, fig. 195.

Current collection: London, British Museum E83

Provenance: Vulci

Dimensions (Shape): H. 12 cm; Diam. 32.7 cm (cup type B)

Subject: I, Athletes, one with strigil. A, Athletes with strigils. B,
Athletes around washbasin (louterion).

25—The Basel Athletes Cup

Plate 40a–b

Bibliography: Schmidt 1998, pl. 6.3 [Schmidt].

Current collection: Basel, H. Cahn Coll., HC 624, with joining
unpublished fr.

Provenance: unknown

Dimensions: Fr.

Subject: A, Athletes and youths, only one draped; one named
Charmides. B, Athletes and youths, only one draped.

26—The Castelvevone Cup

Plate 41a–b

Bibliography: Mencacci and Zecchini 1976, 210, 213, figs. 89–90;

Colonna 1985, 170, no. 9.5; Maggiani 1985, 307–19, esp. 310–12, figs. 4, 5; Zecchini 1999, 40, pl. XXVI.
 Current collection: Lucca, M. Naz. di Villa Guinigi 98315
 Provenance: Lucca (Cave of Castelvenere)
 Dimensions: Fr. Max. p. dim.: 10 x 4.5 cm
 Subject: Palaistra scene or mythological episode with youths, some inscribed; [. . . (ΑΣ)ΤΟΣ; (ΚΑ)ΛΟΣ; largest fragment shows nude youth extending his right hand, [. . .]ΑΥΚΟΣ or [(Ι)]ΑΥΚΟΣ inscribed above; parts of palmettes.

27—The Sydney Cup
 Bibliography: *Para.* 472.
 Current collection: Sydney, Nicholson Museum (Sydney University) 51.31
 Provenance: unknown
 Dimensions: Fr.
 Subject: Athlete (?).

28—The Populonia Cup
 Plate 35
 Bibliography: ARV² 1271.25.
 Current collection: Florence, M. Naz. PD551 (151547)
 Provenance: Populonia (?)
 Dimensions: Fr.
 Subject: Athletes, two standing, one crouching.

29—The Ampurias Nike Cup
 Plate 33a–b
 Bibliography: ARV² 1270.20; *Add.*² 356; Arribas 1967, 134–35 (390), pl. LXXV.
 Current collection: Barcelona, Mus. Arq. 583
 Provenance: Ampurias
 Dimensions: Fr. H. 12.2 cm; Diam. 26 cm
 Subject: A, Athletes with javelin and strigil, Nike. B, Man with staff.

30—The Louvre Athletes Cup
 Plate 58a–b
 Bibliography: ARV² 1270.21.
 Current collection: Paris, Louvre CP 11942
 Provenance: unknown
 Dimensions (Shape): Fr. (cup type E ?)
 Subject: I, Athlete with javelin. A, Athletes and draped man with staff. B, Draped man.

31—The Zurich Cup
 Plate 28a–b
 Bibliography: ARV² 1270.13; *Classical Antiquities: Auction Sale at Basel*, 16 (Basel: Münzen und Medaillen AG, 1956), pl. 35.140 [Cahn].
 Current collection: Zurich, private coll.
 Provenance: unknown
 Dimensions: H. 7.9 cm; Diam. 19.5 cm (handles missing)
 Subject: I, Youth with spear and phiale A, Youths departing. B, Youths with spears, post.

32
 Plate 36a–c
 Bibliography: ARV² 1271.24; *Para.* 471; CVA Florence 4, III I, pl. 153 (A. Maggi).
 Current collection: Florence, M. Naz. 3966; not found in Florence in 2003, perhaps moved to Villa Giulia
 Provenance: unknown
 Dimensions: Fr. Max. p. Diam. 28 cm
 Subject: I, Two athletes, post. A & B, Athletes and youths, post.

33
 Bibliography: ARV² 1271.29.
 Current collection: Naples, M. Arch. Naz. H2607, 81313, M1124
 Provenance: Ruvo
 Dimensions: unavailable
 Subject: I, Youth with staff, another removing himation. A & B, Athletes and draped youths with staff.

34
 Bibliography: CVA Florence 1, III, 15, nos. 205–6, pl. 12 (D. Levi).
 Current collection: Florence, M. Naz.
 Provenance: unknown
 Dimensions: Fr.
 Subject: Parts of three male figures.

35
 Bibliography: U. Lindner, Munich, Sale Catalogue 2, no. 36 (n.d.).
 Current collection: Munich market, Lindner
 Provenance: unknown
 Dimensions: unavailable
 Subject: Athletes with strigils.

36—The Ferrara Athletes Cup
 Plate 57a–c
 Bibliography: ARV² 1271.28; Riccioni 1982, 63–73, figs. 8–10.
 Current collection: Ferrara, M. Naz. di Spina T300AVPA (6729)
 Provenance: Spina
 Dimensions (Shape): H. 8.7 cm; Diam. 2.2 cm (cup type B)
 Subject: I, Youth, altar. A, Two athletes and draped figure. B, Two athletes, draped figure, post.

37—The Xenon Cup
 Plate 47
 Bibliography: ARV² 1270.22, 1612, 1689; *Add.*² 357; Gardiner 1905, 14–31, 263–93; Gardiner 1906, 4–22; Gardiner 1930, 181ff.; Patrucco 1972, 269–72, fig. 125.
 Current collection: London, British Museum E94
 Provenance: Nola (museum catalogue), Vulci (Beazley)
 Dimensions (Shape): H. 7.83 cm; Diam. 22.5 cm (cup type B)
 Subject: I, Athlete with strigil and cloak; inscription: ΕΕΝΩΝ ΚΑΛΟΣ. A, Athletes wrestling and trainer. B, Athletes wrestling and trainer.

38

Bibliography: ARV² 1271.36.

Current collection: Rome, Villa Giulia

Provenance: unknown

Dimensions: unavailable

Subject: Figure (man or youth).

39—The Florence Athletes Fragment

Plate 37

Bibliography: ARV² 1271.35; CVA Florence 1, III, 20, pl. 17, no. 304 (D. Levi).

Current collection: Florence, M. Naz. 17B26

Provenance: unknown

Dimensions: unavailable

Subject: I, Athlete. A & B, Athletes.

40

Bibliography: ARV² 1271.37; CVA Florence 1, III I, pl. 15 (14) (D. Levi).

Current collection: Once Florence, M. Naz. 15B14; perhaps moved to Villa Giulia

Provenance: unknown

Dimensions: unavailable

Subject: I, Athlete. A & B, Athletes or youths.

41—The Ampurias Athletes Fragment

Plate 38a–b

Bibliography: ARV² 1271.38; *Add.*² 357; Arribas 1967, 135 (393), pl. LXXIV.19–20.

Current collection: Barcelona, M. Arq. 4371, 351

Provenance: Ampurias

Dimensions: Fr. H. 10.7 cm

Subject: I, Figure with staff (?). Ext, Athlete with strigil, draped figure.

42

Bibliography: ARV² 1271.39.

Current collection: Rome, Villa Giulia

Provenance: unknown

Dimensions: unavailable

Subject: I, Athlete.

43—The Ampurias Fragment

Plate 51

Bibliography: ARV² 1271.30; *Add.*² 357; Arribas 1967, 135 (391, 392), pl. LXXIV.17–18.

Current collection: Barcelona, M. Arq. 519, 4351

Provenance: Ampurias

Dimensions: Fr. Max. p. dim. 10.6 x 5.31 cm (cup type C)

Subject: A, Part of an acontist or a diskos thrower (?). B, Two athletes boxing.

44—The British Museum Athletes Cup

Plate 48a–b

Bibliography: ARV² 1271.31; *Add.*² 357; Gardiner 1905, 279; Patrucco 1972, 287, fig. 137.

Current collection: London, British Museum E95 (once joined with cup D3)

Provenance: unknown

Dimensions: H. 10.1 cm; Diam. 22.8 cm

Subject: A, Athletes with strigils. B, Athletes, some wrestling, pillar.

45—The Brussels Cup

Plate 50

Bibliography: ARV² 1272.40; CVA Brussels 2, III Id, pl. 6, no. 4 [Mayence-Verhoogen].

Current collection: Brussels, M. Royaux R335

Provenance: unknown

Dimensions: Diam. 12.5 cm (medallion only)

Subject: I, Athletes boxing, post.

46—The Villa Giulia Cup

Plate 49

Bibliography: ARV² 1272.41; *Add.*² 357; Gardiner 1930, fig. 160.

Current collection: Rome, Villa Giulia 27259

Provenance: Todi

Dimensions: unavailable

Subject: I, Athletes wrestling.

47—The Corchiano Cup

Plate 66

Bibliography: ARV² 1272.42.

Current collection: Rome, Villa Giulia 6160

Provenance: Corchiano

Dimensions: unavailable

Subject: I, Athlete with strigil, trainer.

48—The Ampurias Tondo Fragment

Plate 68

Bibliography: ARV² 1272.43; *Add.*² 357; Arribas 1967, 136 (394), pl. LXXVI.1.

Current collection: Barcelona, M. Arq. 4292

Provenance: Ampurias

Dimensions: Fr. H. 7.1 cm

Subject: I, Athlete with strigil.

49

Bibliography: ARV² 1272.45; *Para.* 472.

Current collection: Christchurch, NZ, University of Canterbury, J. Logie Mem. Coll. 430.1

Provenance: unknown

Dimensions: unavailable

Subject: I, Youth, post. Ext, Athlete (?).

50

Bibliography: *Harvard University Art Museums Bulletin* (Spring 1997), 68, no. 117 [Guy].

Current collection: Cambridge, MA, Sackler Museum 1995.18.118

Provenance: unknown

Dimensions: Fr.

Subject: I, Athlete with strigil.

51
 Plate 39
 Bibliography: *Para.* 472; CVA Copenhagen 8, 271, pl. 354, no. 4; perhaps by the Codrus Painter [Friis Johansen].
 Current collection: Copenhagen, Nat. M. 13380
 Provenance: unknown
 Dimensions: H. 7.1 cm
 Subject: Ext, Athlete with strigil, palmette.

52
 Bibliography: AA 1968: 163, fig. 58A; very close to the Codrus Painter [Simon].
 Current collection: Würzburg, Martin von Wagner M. H5060.9
 Provenance: unknown
 Dimensions (Shape): Fr. H. 2.7 cm (cup type B)
 Subject: Ext., man.

PHASE III, CA. 420 BCE

53—The Dionysos Cup
 Plate 21a–c
 Bibliography: ARV² 1270.17; *Add.*² 356; CVA Würzburg 2, 13–19, pls. 5, 6 (Hölscher); Lezzi-Hafter 1985, 249–51.
 Current collection: Würzburg, Martin von Wagner M. L491, H4616
 Provenance: Spina
 Dimensions (Shape): H. 14.5 cm; Diam. 34.2 cm (cup type B)
 Subject: I, ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ, ΑΡΙΑΔΝΗ, ΠΕΘΟΝ (Peitho), ΠΟΘΟΣ (Pothos), ΚΟΜΟΣ. A & B, Maenads with thyrsos and satyrs, ΣΙ]ΜΟ(Σ), ΠΑΙΔΙΑ.

54—The Cambridge Cup
 Plate 23a–c
 Bibliography: Burn 1988, 101, 103, figs. 1–4; Green 1994, 38–44; Schmidt 1995, 13–25 [Burn].
 Current collection: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR2.1977
 Provenance: unknown
 Dimensions (Shape): H. 11 cm; Diam. 24 cm (cup type B)
 Subject: I, Amazon on horseback. A & B, Satyrs following youth, paidagogos.

55
 Plate 42
 Bibliography: *Boreas* 4 (1982): pl. 34.1 [Stupperich].
 Current collection: Münster, private coll. XXXX7538
 Provenance: unknown
 Dimensions: Fr. H. 4 cm; W. 7 cm
 Subject: Athlete (?).

56
 Bibliography: CVA Enserune 2, pl. 16.6; compare to the Codrus Painter [Lezzi-Hafter].
 Current collection: Enserune, M. Nat. d'Enserune 45/413–1945
 Provenance: Enserune
 Dimensions: Fr. H. 1.8 cm; W. 4.1 cm
 Subject: Part of draped figure.

57—The Todi Cup
 Plate 52a–c
 Bibliography: ARV² 1271.27; *Add.*² 357; Bendinelli 1916, col. 891, fig. 34, col. 911, fig. 39.
 Current collection: Rome, Villa Giulia 27258
 Provenance: Todi
 Dimensions (Shape): Tondo Diam. 10 cm (cup type B)
 Subject: I, Athlete jumping, post. A, Boxers with himantes flanking trainer. B, Athlete jumping, trainer, flute player in patterned chiton.

58—The Copenhagen Cup
 Plate 46a–c
 Bibliography: ARV² 1271.23; *Add.*² 357; CVA Copenhagen 4, 124, pl. 160, no. 2c [Blinkenberg-Johansen].
 Current collection: Copenhagen, Nat. M. 3847
 Provenance: Probably from Italy
 Dimensions (Shape): H. 8.7 cm; Diam. 23 cm (cup type B)
 Subject: I, Jumper, post. A, Athletes boxing, trainer. B, Athletes wrestling, post, trainer.

59
 Bibliography: ARV² 1271.26.
 Current collection: Vatican City, M. Vaticano AST500
 Provenance: unknown
 Dimensions: Fr. Max. p. dim. 6.2 cm
 Subject: I, Youth. A, Athletes, one with javelin (?).

60
 Bibliography: ARV² 1271.26 (bis).
 Current collection: Strasbourg, Strasbourg University 843
 Provenance: unknown
 Dimensions: Fr.
 Subject: I, Athlete (youth?). A, Feet of athletes (?).

61
 Plate 13
 Bibliography: CVA Enserune 2, pl. 13.12 [Lezzi-Hafter].
 Current collection: Enserune, M. Nat. d'Enserune S389
 Provenance: Enserune
 Dimensions: Fr. H. 2.4 cm; W. 5 cm
 Subject: I, lower part of female figure dressed in peplos.

62—The Enserune Cup
 Plate 63a–b
 Bibliography: CVA Enserune 2, pl. 14.6–7 [Lezzi-Hafter].
 Current collection: Enserune, M. Nat. d'Enserune S83
 Provenance: Enserune
 Dimensions: Fr. H. 8.3 cm; W. 8.5 cm
 Subject: I, Youth facing left, dressed in himation, aryballos in hand, with band on his hair. Ext, palmette, two male figures standing, at least one wearing a long himation.

63—The Ceglie Cup
 Plate 61a–c
 Bibliography: ARV² 1271.32; Andreassi and Radina 1988, 311, no. 672, fig. 417.

Current collection: Taranto, M. Arch. Naz. di Taranto 8290
Provenance: Ceglie
Dimensions (Shape): H. 10.8 cm; Diam. 25 cm (cup type C)
Subject: I, Two athletes, one with strigil. A, Three athletes and draped youth. B, Four athletes, one removing his himation.

64—The Ny Carlsberg Cup

Plate 59

Bibliography: ARV² 1272.44; Moltensen 1995, 216–17, no. 115.
Current collection: Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek V34, 2716

Provenance: Orvieto

Dimensions: H. 7.4 cm; Diam. 19.3 cm

Subject: I, Youth folding himation.

65—The Duke Cup

Plate 62

Bibliography: *Katalog* (Basel) 7 (1995), no. 20 [Lezzi-Hafter].
Current collection: Durham, NC, Duke University Collection (once Basel market H.A.C.)

Provenance: unknown

Dimensions (Shape): H. 7.5 cm; Diam. 17.7 cm (cup type C)

Subject: I, Draped youth at post, suspended aryballos.

MANNER OF THE CODRUS PAINTER, CA. 440–430 BCE

66—The Oxford Chous

Figure 3.1

Bibliography: ARV² 1258.1; CVA Oxford, Ashmolean 1, 34, pls. 131, 135 (43.2, 39.3–4); Lezzi-Hafter 1988, 191, 203–4, n. 273, p1.195a (211). Previously attributed to the Codrus Painter [Lezzi-Hafter].

Current collection: Oxford, Ashmolean Museum V53

Provenance: unknown

Dimensions: H. 21.7 cm; Diam. 17.8 cm

Subject: Satyr attacking sleeping maenad; inscriptions: ΤΡΑΓΩΙΔΙΑ, ΚΙΣΣΟΣ.

67

Plate 44a–b

Bibliography: ARV² 1272.3; CVA Florence 1, III I, 17, pl. 15, no. 266 (17) (D. Levi). Manner of the Codrus Painter.

Current collection: Florence, M. Naz. 15B17 (151497)

Provenance: unknown

Dimensions: unavailable

Subject: I, Acontist, post. A & B, Athletes and youths.

MANNER OF THE CODRUS PAINTER, CA. 430–420/410 BCE

68—The Cambridge Athletes Cup

Plate 45a–c

Bibliography: ARV² 1271.34; *Para.* 471; *Fitzwilliam Museum Annual Report*, 1964, pl. 1; *Fitzwilliam Museum Annual Report*, 1965–66, 46, fig. 5. Previously attributed to the Codrus Painter.

Current collection: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum GR3.1964

Provenance: unknown

Dimensions: unavailable

Subject: I, Athlete with strigil in front of altar (?), aryballos

suspended. A, Athletes with *halteres*, *acontion*, youths. B, Athletes, one with disks.

69—The Richmond Cup

Plate 54a–c

Bibliography: ARV² 1689.28 (bis); *Add.*² 357; *Ancient Art in Virginia*, 94, no. 110.

Current collection: Richmond, VA, Museum of Fine Arts 62.1.6

Provenance: unknown

Dimensions (Shape): H. 8.9 cm; Diam. 22.9 cm (cup type B)

Subject: I, Acontist, post. A, Two athletes and draped seated figure. B, Athlete with *halteres*, athlete with strigil, draped figure.

70—The Chapel Hill Cup

Plate 53a–c

Bibliography: Shapiro 1981b, 151, no. 59. Manner of the Codrus Painter, if not by him [Neils].

Current collection: Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, Ackland Art Museum 66.27.4

Provenance: unknown

Dimensions (Shape): H. 10 cm; Diam. 28.3 cm (cup type B)

Subject: I, Archer with bows, stele. A, Athletes wrestling. B, Athletes jumping.

71—The Dresden Cup

Figure 3.3

Bibliography: ARV² 1271.33; P. Herrmann, *AA* (1895), 226, no. 25. Previously attributed to the Codrus Painter.

Current collection: Dresden, Albertinum 356

Provenance: from Italy

Dimensions (Shape): H. 12.7 cm; Diam. 23.8 cm (stemless cup)

Subject: I, Two athletes in conversation. A, Athletes and youths with strigils. B, Two athletes, one draped youth, and partial head of fourth.

72—The Cape Town Cup

Figure 3.4

Bibliography: ARV² 1272.46, 1689; Boardman and Pope 1961, pl. XIII (upside down). Previously attributed to the Codrus Painter.

Current collection: Cape Town, South Africa Cultural History Museum 17, H 4811, 1333

Provenance: unknown

Dimensions (Shape): H. 8.2 cm; Diam. 15.2 cm (stemless cup)

Subject: A, Athletes boxing, draped men with staffs. B, Athletes boxing, trainers (?), mantle of extreme right figure overpainted.

73

Bibliography: CVA Ullastret 1, 28–29, pl. 20.7. [P]eut être du peintre lui-même [Ortega et al.].

Current collection: Ullastret Museum (no inv. no.)

Provenance: Ullastret

Dimensions: Fr. H. 6.6 cm

Subject: I, Figure with staff (?). Ext, Athletes.

74

Bibliography: CVA Bryn Mawr 1, 39–40, pl. 27.3, 4. Circle of the Codrus Painter [Phillips and Ashmead].
Current collection: Bryn Mawr, PA, Bryn Mawr College P214
Provenance: “Source: Rome, R penciled on sherd”
Dimensions: Fr. H. 4 cm
Subject: I, Huntsman. A & B, Youths with staff or spear.

75

Bibliography: ARV² 1272.1. Manner of the Codrus Painter.
Current collection: Rome, Villa Giulia
Provenance: unknown
Dimensions: Fr.
Subject: I, Youth extending right hand, left on his waist. A, Athlete.

76

Bibliography: ARV² 1272.2. Manner of the Codrus Painter.
Current collection: Berlin, Humboldt University, Winckelman Inst. D92/10
Provenance: unknown
Dimensions: Fr. H. 5 cm; W. 8 cm
Subject: Ext, Parts of two athletes.

77

Bibliography: ARV² 1272.5; Pellegrini 1900, 205. Manner of the Codrus Painter.
Current collection: Bologna, M. Civico 429
Provenance: unknown
Dimensions: Fr. H. 4 cm; W. 6 cm
Subject: Ext, Jumper.

78—The Basel Market Cup

Bibliography: ARV² 1273.10; *Para.* 472: Manner of the Codrus Painter; Sotheby, Sale Catalogue, July 2, 1929, 10, pl. 8, 44.
Current collection: Basel Market, M&Med A.G. (ex San Simeon Hearst Co. 9984, ex C. Torr)
Provenance: unknown
Dimensions: Diam. 14.6 cm
Subject: I, Youth with torch. A & B, Torch race (mended, parts missing).

79

Bibliography: ARV² 1272.8. Manner of the Codrus Painter.
Current collection: Köln, University coll.
Provenance: unknown
Dimensions: unavailable
Subject: I, Youth with torch.

80

Bibliography: ARV² 1272.4. Manner of the Codrus Painter.
Current collection: St. Petersburg, Hermitage OL3272
Provenance: Olbia
Dimensions (Shape): H. 8 cm (cup type C)
Subject: Ext, Youth with tainia.

81—The Bremen Cup

Plate 64

Bibliography: ARV² 1273.9: Manner of the Codrus Painter; H. Schaal, *Griechische Vasen und figürliche Tonplastik in Bremen* (Bremen: Gustav Winters, 1933), 45–46, pl. 19a.
Current collection: Bremen, Schroder Coll. XXXX217266
Provenance: unknown
Dimensions: unavailable
Subject: I, Athlete leaning on post.

82

Bibliography: ARV² 1272.6. Manner of the Codrus Painter.
Current collection: Florence, M. Naz. (no inv. no.); not found in Florence in 2003, perhaps moved to Villa Giulia
Provenance: unknown
Dimensions: unavailable
Subject: I, Athletes: one with strigil, one with crown (torch race?).

83—The Leipzig Cup

Plate 65

Bibliography: ARV² 1272.7: Manner of the Codrus Painter; CVA Leipzig 3, 121–22, pl. 76.4–5.
Current collection: Leipzig, Antikenmuseum der Universität T547
Provenance: unknown
Dimensions (Shape): H. 8.5 cm; max. p. Diam. 12cm (cup type B)
Subject: I, Two athletes with strigil and javelins (?).

84

Bibliography: ARV² 1273. Manner of the Codrus Painter.
Current collection: Philadelphia market
Provenance: unknown
Dimensions: unavailable
Subject: I, Athletes with strigils, post. A, Athletes with strigils, block. B, Athletes with strigils, javelin, post.

85—The Enserune Palmette

Plate 67

Bibliography: CVA Enserune 2, pl. 16.5 [Dubosse–Lezzi–Haft].
Current collection: Enserune, M. Nat. d’Enserune S90
Provenance: Enserune
Dimensions: Fr. H. 4.9 cm; W. 9 cm
Subject: Palmette.

86

Bibliography: Lezzi–Haft 1988, pl. 106L, no. 161. Manner of the Codrus Painter–Manner of the Eretria Painter [Lezzi–Haft].
Current collection: Montpellier, University coll. 35
Provenance: La Monediere
Dimensions: Fr.
Subject: Palmettes.

COMPARE TO THE CODRUS PAINTER—AISON, 430–420 BCE

87—The Naples Cup

Plate 29a–c

Bibliography: ARV² 1275.3: Compare to Aison–Codrus Painter; Pozzi 1985, 241–42, no. 49.3.

Current collection: Naples, M. Arch. Naz. 146741

Provenance: Naples

Dimensions (Shape): H. 6.3 cm; Diam. 30 cm (stemless cup)

Subject: I, Warrior and woman (Theseus and Aithra?). A, Warriors departing, one seated. B, Departing warrior with phiale, woman with oinochoe, youth.

88—The Berlin Cup

Plate 43a–c

Bibliography: ARV² 1275.4; *Add.*² 357; CVA Berlin 1 (1990), pl. 25, 6–7, pl. 26, 1–2, Beil. 4. Compare to Aison–Codrus Painter.

Current collection: Berlin, Antikensammlung F2728

Provenance: Vulci

Dimensions (Shape): H. 6.7 cm; Diam. 21.7 cm (stemless cup)

Subject: I, Acontist by post. A, Athlete leaning on post, athlete with strigil. B, Seated athlete and acontist.

89—The Cumae Cup

Plate 60a–b

Bibliography: ARV² 1275.5. Compare to Aison–Codrus Painter.

Current collection: Naples, M. Arch. Naz. di Napoli 86008

Provenance: Cumae

Dimensions (Shape): Diam. 15 cm (stemless cup)

Subject: A, Athletes and youth. B, Athlete, trainer, youth.

90

Plate 69

Bibliography: ARV² 1274.2; Aurigemma 1960, 195, pls. 223, 226b. Compare to Aison–Codrus Painter.

Current collection: Ferrara, M. Naz. di Spina T392

Provenance: Spina

Dimensions (Shape): H. 8.5 cm; Diam. 22.4 cm (cup type B)

Subject: I, Athlete leaning on post, athlete with strigil.

91

Bibliography: ARV² 1274.1; Lezzi-Hafter 1992, 63. Compare to Aison–Codrus Painter.

Current collection: Rome, Villa Giulia 5312

Provenance: Falerii

Dimensions: unavailable

Subject: Athletes wrestling (?).

NEAR THE CODRUS PAINTER, CA. 430–420 BCE

92—The Battlefield Cup

Plate 31a–c

Bibliography: ARV² 1274. Manner of the Codrus Painter.

Current collection: London, British Museum 1948.10–15.3

Provenance: unknown

Dimensions (Shape): H. 9 cm (cup type B)

Subject: I, Warriors departing, both with spears, one with pilos. A, Two pairs of warriors fighting. B, Two pairs of warriors,

one set fighting, another with warrior standing over fallen companion. Incised graffito on foot.

93—The Amazonomachy Cup

Plate 19a–b

Bibliography: ARV² 1274: Recalls the Codrus Painter [Bothmer]; CVA Florence 1, III, I, pl. 15, 24; pl. 21, no. 268 (D. Levi); Beazley 1933, 28, no. 268; Bothmer 1957, 180–81, no. 53, pl. LXXIX; CVA Leipzig 3, 122, pl. 76.6–7.

Current collections: Florence, M. Naz. 21B268, 151495; Vatican City, M. Vaticano AST263; Leipzig, Antikenmuseum T591; Chicago, University of Chicago Smart Museum

Provenance: unknown

Dimensions: Fr.

Subject: I, Two Amazons. Ext, Amazonomachy.

94—The Ex-Charterhouse Cup

Plate 30a–c

Bibliography: ARV² 1274: Compare to the Codrus Painter; Sotheby's 2002, 38–39, no. 71.

Current collection: Unknown; once in Godalming, Charterhouse School Museum IN 75.1 or 3.

Provenance: unknown

Dimensions: Diam. 29.8 cm

Subject: I, Child (?) on horseback, youth. A, Horseman and youth, athlete (?) standing by post and talking to man. B, Horseman and youth, athlete (?) standing by post, youth.

95—The Geneva Athletes Cup

Plate 56a–b

Bibliography: Manner of the Codrus Painter [unknown]; London, Charles Ede, Sale Catalogue, January 19, 1976, no. 12; Vanhove 1996, 2:69, no. 103.

Current collection: Geneva, private coll. (ex London market)

Provenance: unknown

Dimensions (Shape): H. 8.6 cm; Diam. 21.5 cm (cup type B)

Subject: I, Youths, one with lyre. A, Acontists with strigils. B, Acontists with strigils.

96—The Reggio Fragment

Plate 70

Bibliography: Damiani 1992, 1:352, pl. C, no. 550. Compare to the Codrus Painter [Damiani].

Current collection: Reggio Emilia, M. Civici di Reggio Emilia P9596

Provenance: Reggio

Dimensions: Fr. H. 4.5 cm; W. 32 cm

Subject: I, Head of youth. Ext, Feet of two figures.

97—The Würzburg Fragment

Plate 71

Bibliography: Weiss 1988, 340–44, figs. 57–58. Near the Codrus Painter [Weiss].

Current collection: Würzburg, Martin von Wagner M. H5772

Provenance: unknown

Dimensions: Fr. H. 4.9 cm; W. 9.5 cm

Subject: Ext, palmette, youth covered in himation leaning on rod, naked youth extending hand.

THE PAINTER OF CAMBRIDGE 72, CA. 430–420 BCE

98

Plate 73a–c

Bibliography: ARV² 1273.2: Painter of Cambridge 72; CVA Cambridge 1, 30, pls. 25.7, 27.1 [Lamb].

Current collection: Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 72

Provenance: Vulci

Dimensions (Shape): H. 8.7 cm; Diam. 21.5 cm (cup type B)

Subject: I, A, B, Athletes.

99

Bibliography: ARV² 1273.1. Painter of Cambridge 72.

Current collection: Munich, Staatliche Antikensammlungen 2701

Provenance: unknown

Dimensions: Fr.

Subject: I, A, B, Athletes.

100

Bibliography: ARV² 1273.3. Painter of Cambridge 72.

Current collection: Dijon, M. Arch.

Provenance: unknown

Dimensions: unavailable

Subject: A & B, Two athletes and youth (restored).

101

Plate 77

Bibliography: ARV² 1273.4: Painter of Cambridge 72; G. M. A. Richter, *AM* 71 (1956): 140, fig. 76; Oakley 2005, 267–69, fig. 5.

Current collection: Dresden, Albertinum 361

Provenance: Italy

Dimensions (Shape): Diam. 18.5 cm (stemmed plate)

Subject: Athlete.

102

Plate 74

Bibliography: ARV² 1273.5: Painter of Cambridge 72; G. M. A. Richter, *AM* 71 (1956): 140, n. 12.

Current collection: Naples, M. Arch. Naz. 2618, 82513

Provenance: Ruvo

Dimensions (Shape): Diam. ca. 18 cm (stemmed plate)

Subject: Athlete.

103

Plate 75a–c

Bibliography: ARV² 1273; K. Peters, *Greifswalder Antiken*

(Berlin: De Gruyter, 1961), pls. 32–34. Compare to the Codrus Painter–Painter of Cambridge 72.

Current collection: Greifswald, E. M. Arndt University 338, 333

Provenance: unknown

Dimensions: Diam. 19 cm

Subject: I, Athlete jumping and draped youth. A, Athletes, youths, post, palmettes. B, Athletes, youths, post, palmettes.

104

Plate 76a–b

Bibliography: ARV² 1273; Vanhove 1993, 1:144, no. 87. Compare to the Codrus Painter–Painter of Cambridge 72.

Current collection: Ghent, Ghent University coll. 13

Provenance: unknown

Dimensions: H. 8.1 cm; Diam. 22.5 cm

Subject: I, Two athletes, one with strigil. A, Athletes with strigils and draped youth. B, Athletes with strigils and draped youth.

COMPARE TO THE CODRUS PAINTER AND PAINTERS OF LONDON
E106 AND E113, 430–420 BCE

105—The Hermitage Torch Race Cup

Plate 55a–b

Bibliography: *Para.* 487; Vanhove 1993, 1:58. Compare to the Codrus Painter–Painter of London E106 [Peredolskaya].

Current collection: St. Petersburg, Hermitage B4526

Provenance: unknown

Dimensions (Shape): H. 10.5 cm; Diam. 32 cm (cup type B)

Subject: I, Athletes. A & B, Torch race, woman.

106

Plate 78

Bibliography: ARV² 1299.7: Painter of London E113; CVA Florence 4, 18, pl. 150. 2 (Maggi).

Current collection: Florence, M. Naz. 3937

Provenance: unknown

Dimensions: H. 5 cm; Diam. 16.5 cm

Subject: I, athlete.

DISASSOCIATE FROM THE CODRUS PAINTER AND HIS CIRCLE

107

Figure 3.7

Bibliography: Hornbostel 1977, 331, no. 283 [Hornbostel].

Current collection: Basel Market, M&Med. A.G.

Provenance: unknown

Dimensions: Max. p. dim. 21.9 cm

Subject: I, Eros and Aphrodite, zone of Erotes and draped youths. A & B, Wedded pair and Eros.

PLATES



Plate 1a

Plate 1a-c (cat. 1). The Codrus cup (courtesy of the Archivio Fotografico del Museo Civico di Bologna [G595]).



Plate 1b

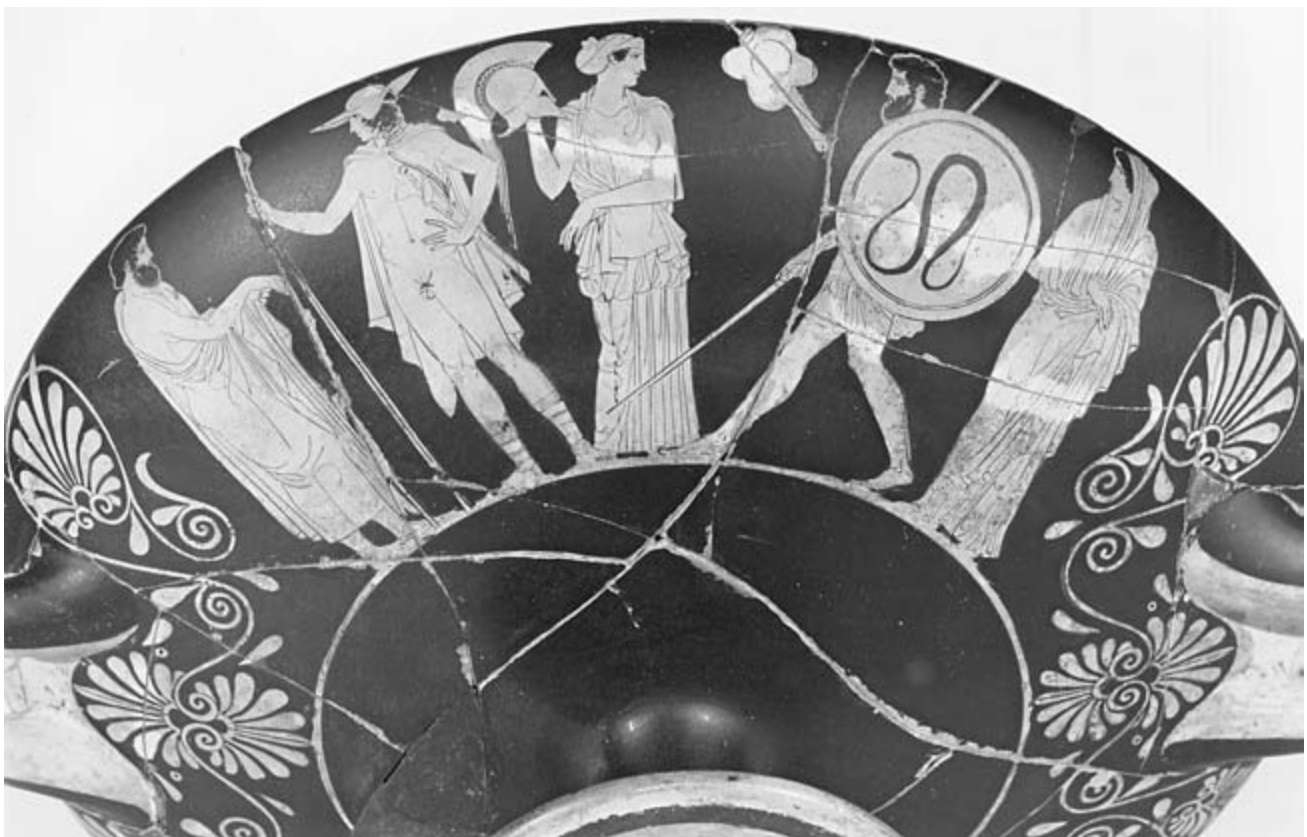


Plate 1c



Plate 2a



Plate 2b

Plate 2a–b. Cup by the Painter of the Naples Hydriaskai (after CVA Florence 4, pl. 151, with the permission of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Toscana).



Plate 3a



Plate 3b

Plate 3a–c (cat. 2). The Erichthonios cup (courtesy of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Antikensammlung F2537; photo: J. Tietz-Glagow).



Plate 3c

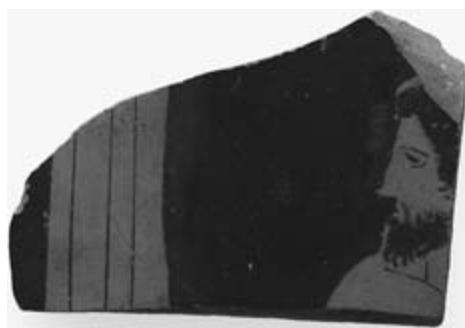


Plate 4 (cat. 7). The Acropolis fragment (courtesy National Archaeological Museum, Athens).



Plate 5a



Plate 5b

Plate 5a–b (cat. 16). The Theseus cycle cup (courtesy of the British Museum, © Copyright the Trustees of The British Museum).



Plate 6. The Harrow cycle cup (© Keepers and Governors of Harrow School).



Plate 7a



Plate 7b

Plate 7a–c. Aison's cycle cup (Archivo Fotografico, Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid).



Plate 7c



Plate 8a

Plate 8a–c (cat. 17). The Themis cup (courtesy of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Antikensammlung F2538; photo: J. Tietz-Glagow).



Plate 8b



Plate 8c



Plate 9a

Plate 9a–c (cat. 15). The Basel cup (courtesy of Antikenmuseum Basel und Sammlung Ludwig, Inv. BS432; photo: Claire Niggli).



Plate 9b



Plate 9c



Plate 10a



Plate 10b

Plate 10a–c (cat. 3). The Divine Banquet cup (courtesy of the British Museum, © Copyright the Trustees of The British Museum).



Plate 10c



Plate 11a

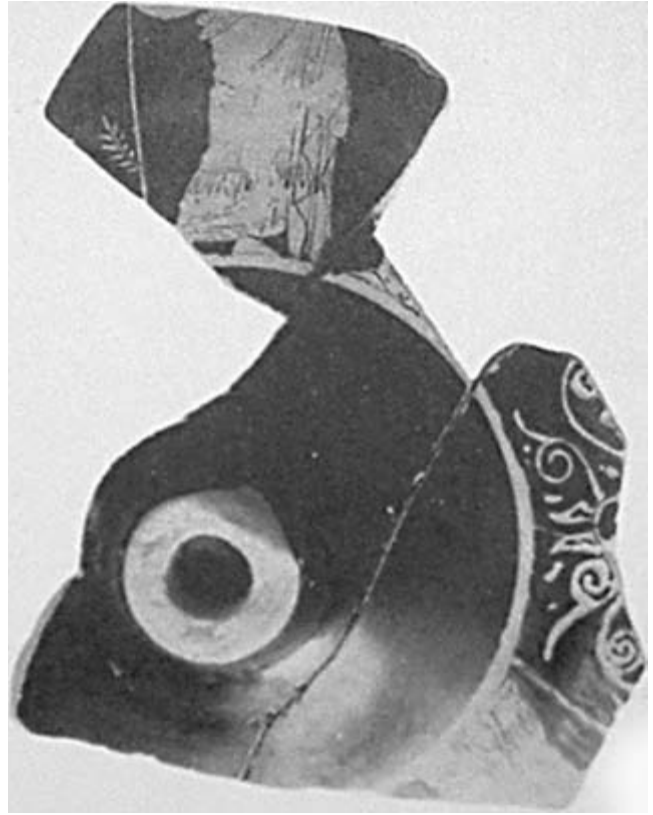


Plate 11b

Plate 11a–b (cat. 20). The Brauron cup (courtesy of the Greek Ministry of Culture, Second Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities).



Plate 12 (cat. 13). Fragment in Florence (photo: author, with the permission of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Toscana).



Plate 13 (cat. 61). Fragment from Enserune (Site et Musée d'Ensérune pour le Centre des Monuments Nationaux).



Plate 14a

Plate 14a–c (cat. 18). The Triton cup (courtesy of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Emilia e Romagna, su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali).



Plate 14b



Plate 14c



Plate 15a



Plate 15b



Plate 15c

Plate 15a–c (cat. 4). The Phrixos cup (after Greifenhagen 1976, figs. 2–7, with the permission of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Toscana).

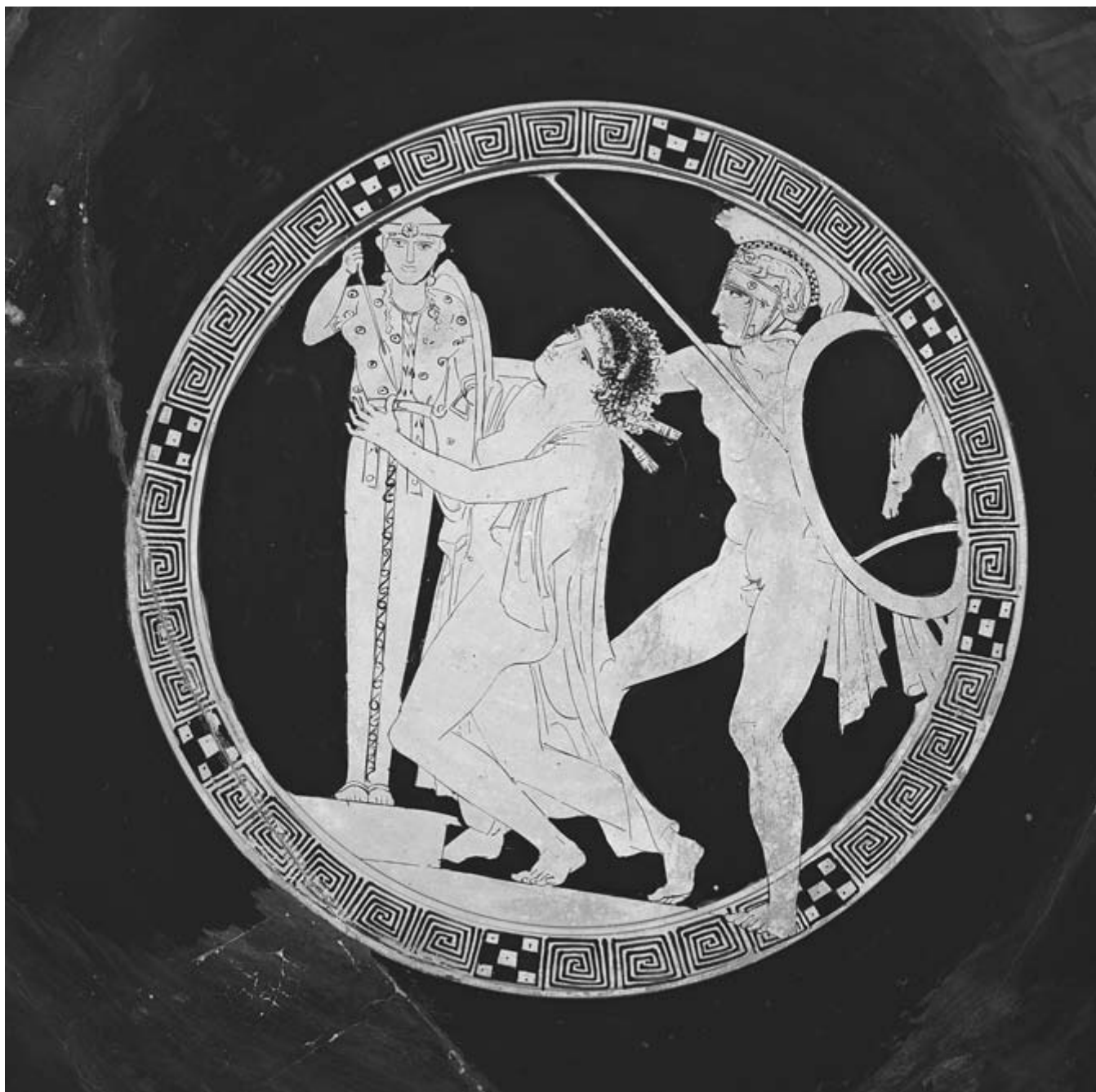


Plate 16a

Plate 16a–c (cat. 19). The Cassandra cup (courtesy RMN/Apeiron).



Plate 16b



Plate 16c

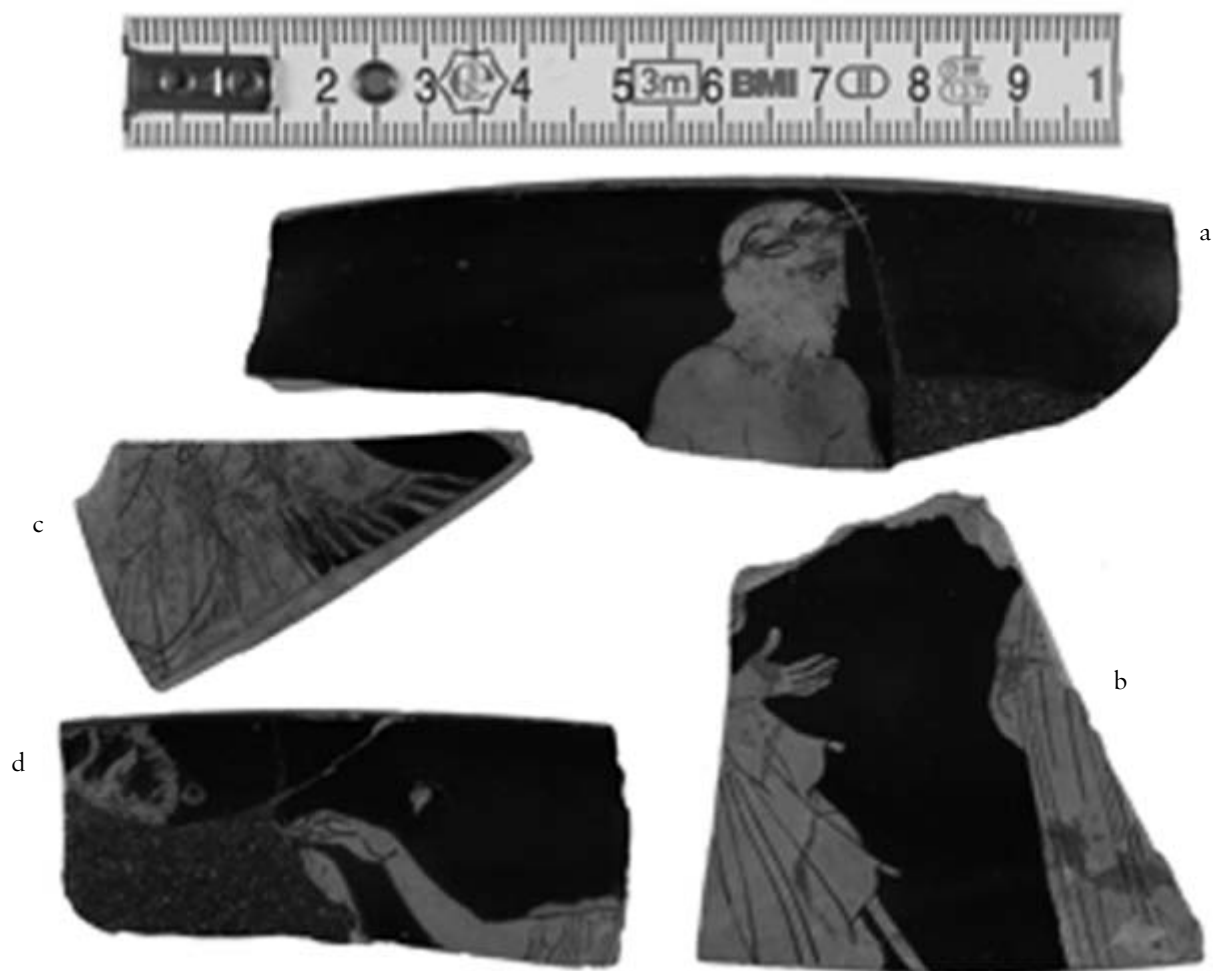


Plate 17 (cat. 10A). The Astarita cup (courtesy of Musei Vaticani).



Plate 18 (cat. 11). The Tampa fragment (courtesy of Tampa Museum of Art [1986.88]).



Plate 19a



Plate 19b

Plate 19a–b (cat. 93). The Amazonomachy cup (after CVA Florence 1, III, pls. 21 and 24, with the permission of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Toscana).

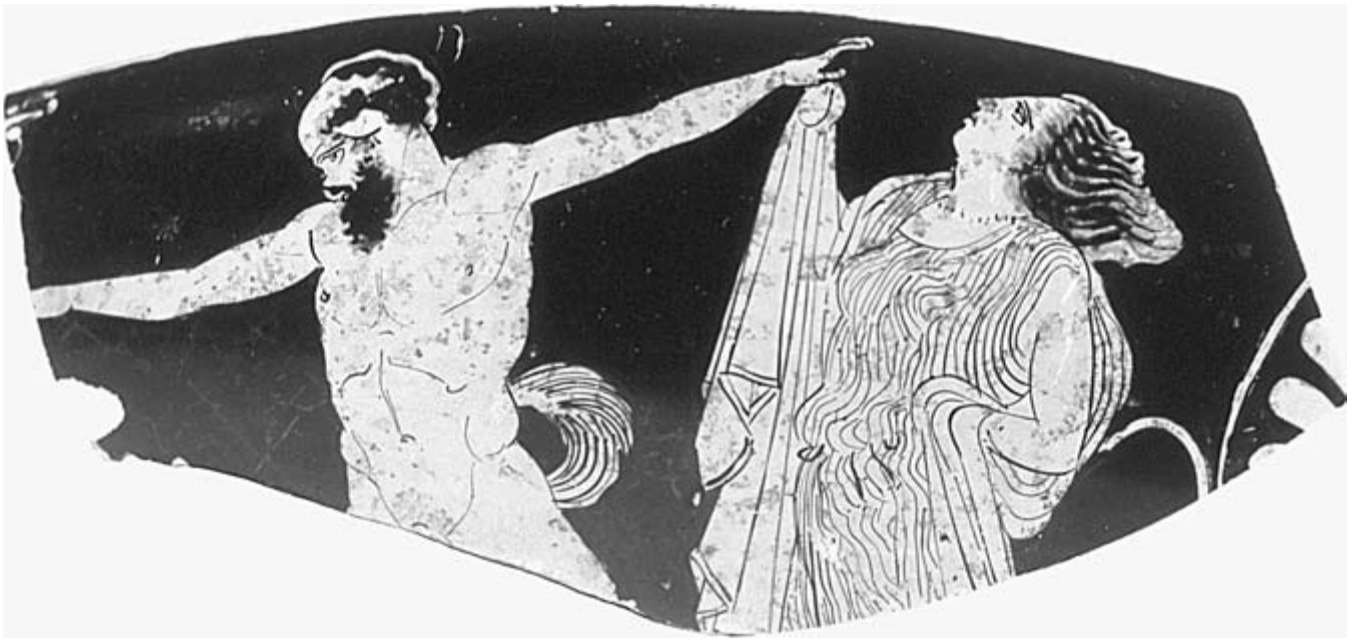


Plate 20 (cat. 21). The Tarquinia cup (courtesy of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Etruria Meridionale, Rome).



Plate 21a

Plate 21a–c (cat. 53). The Dionysos cup (courtesy of the Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg; photo: K. Oehrlein).



Plate 21b



Plate 21c



Plate 22a

Plate 22a–c (cat. 22). The Herakles cup (courtesy of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Emilia e Romagna, su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali).



Plate 22b

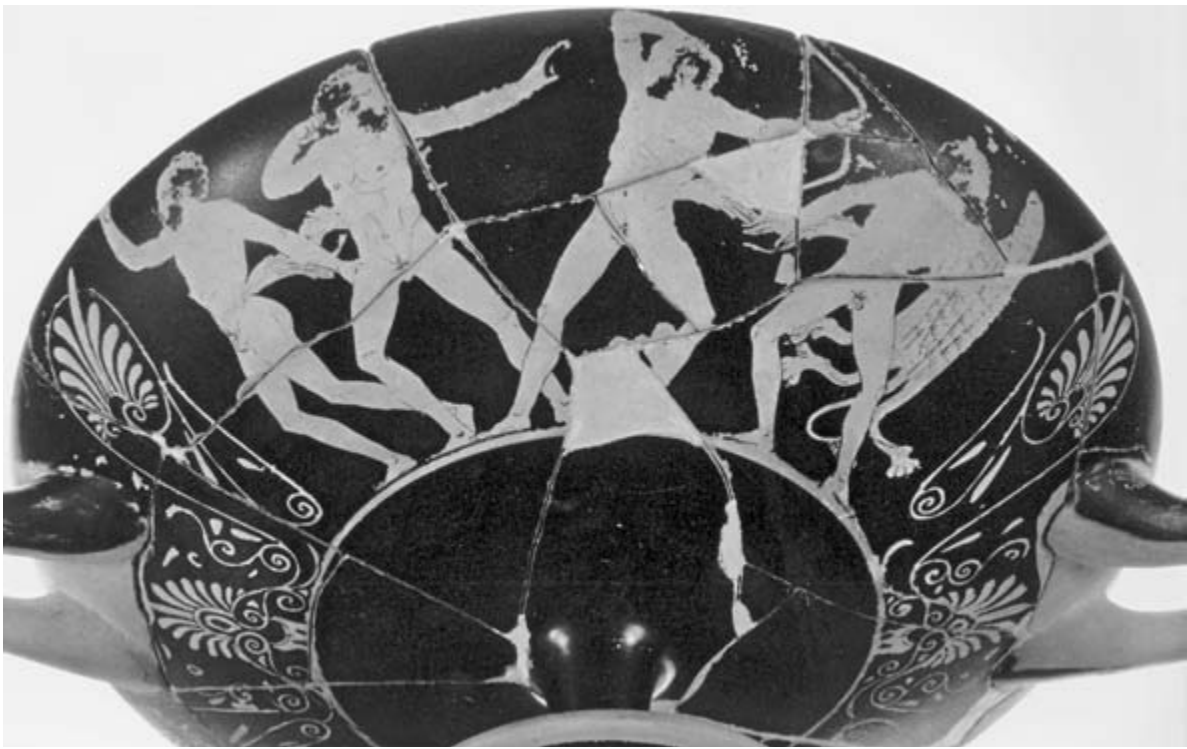


Plate 22c



Plate 23a

Plate 23a–c (cat. 54). The Cambridge cup (courtesy of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge).



Plate 23b



Plate 23c



Plate 24 (cat. 5). The New York fragment (courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art).

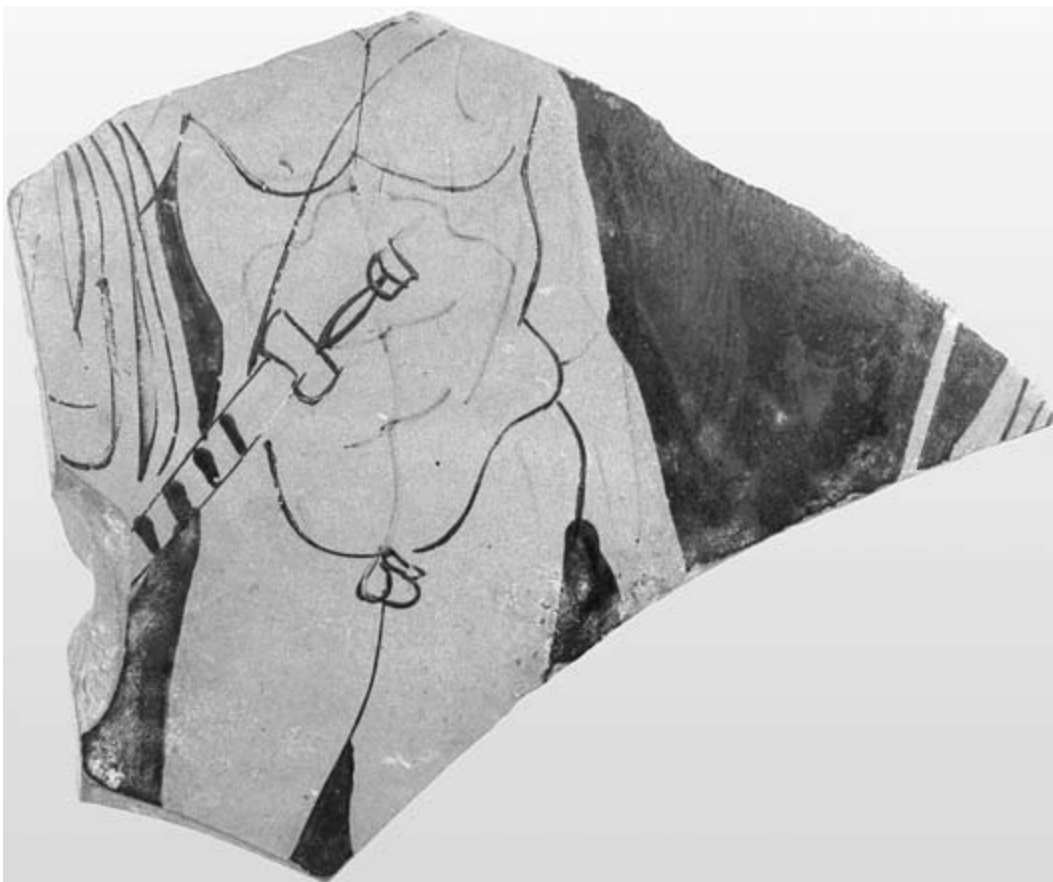


Plate 25 (cat. 6). The Tübingen fragment (Universität Tübingen, Institut für Klassische Archäologie).

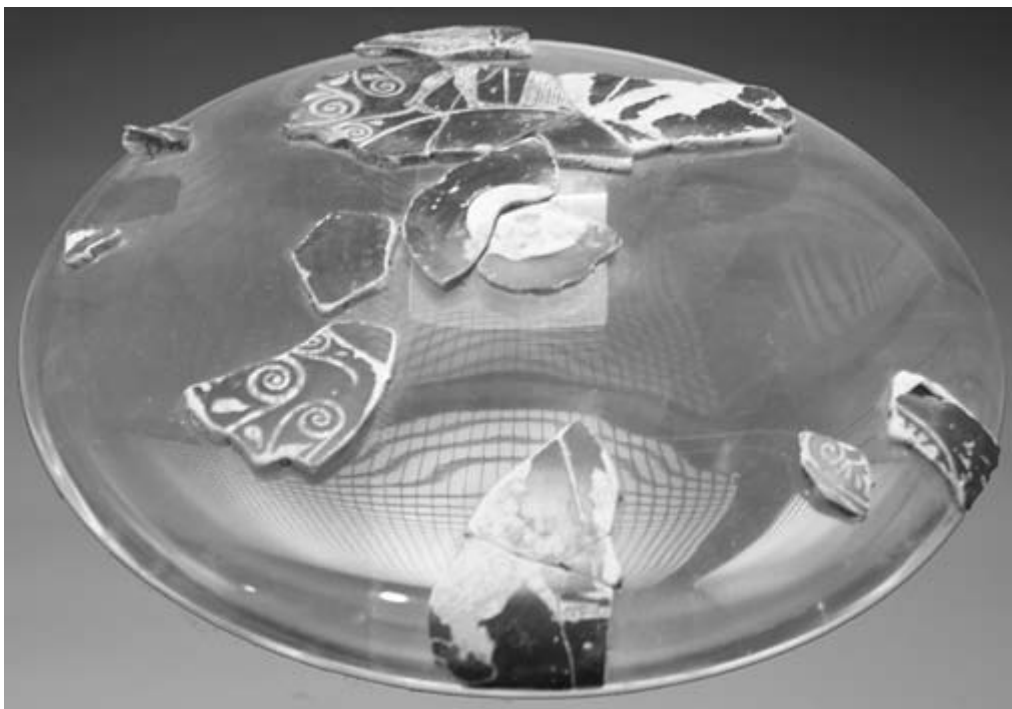


Plate 26a



Plate 26b (detail of pl. 26a)

Plate 26a–b (cat. 8). The Montereggi fragments (courtesy of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Toscana).



Plate 27a



Plate 27b

Plate 27a-c (cat. 12). The Altenburg cup (Lindenau-Museum, Altenburg).



Plate 27c



Plate 28a

Plate 28a–b (cat. 31). The Zurich cup (after *Classical Antiquities: Auction Sale at Basel 16* [Basel: Münzen und Medaillen AG, 1956], pl. 35.140).



Plate 28b



Plate 29a



Plate 29b

Plate 29a–c (cat. 87). The Naples cup (courtesy of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici delle Province di Napoli e Caserta).



Plate 29c



Plate 30a



Plate 30b

Plate 30a–c (cat. 94). The ex-Charterhouse cup (photo: author).



Plate 30c



Plate 31a



Plate 31b

Plate 31a–c (cat. 92). The Battlefield cup (courtesy of the British Museum © Copyright the Trustees of The British Museum).



Plate 31c

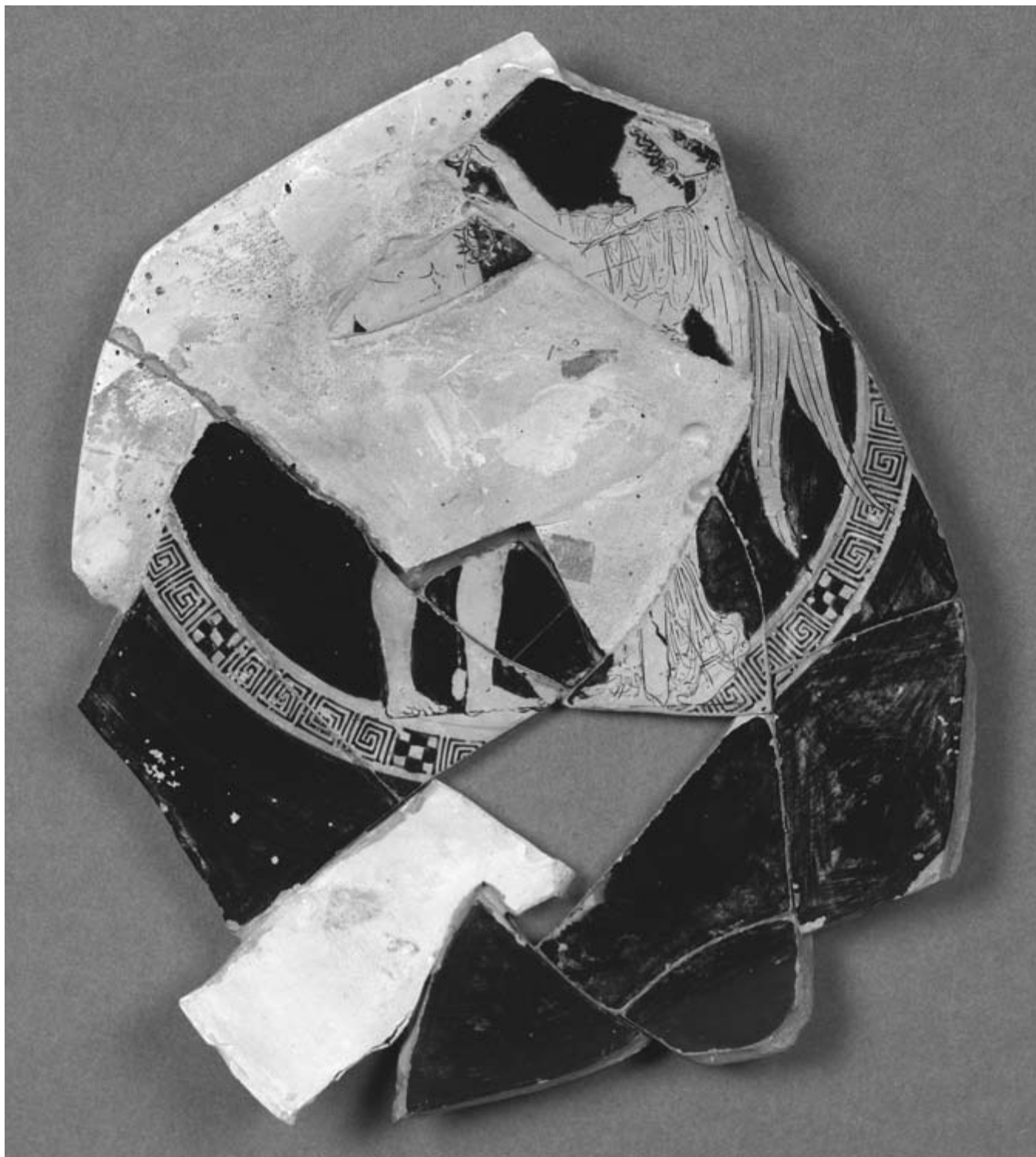


Plate 32a

Plate 32a–b (cat. 23). The Louvre Nike cup (courtesy RMN/Apeiron).



Plate 32b



Plate 33a

Plate 33a–b (cat. 29). The Ampurias Nike cup (Fons del Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya).



Plate 33b

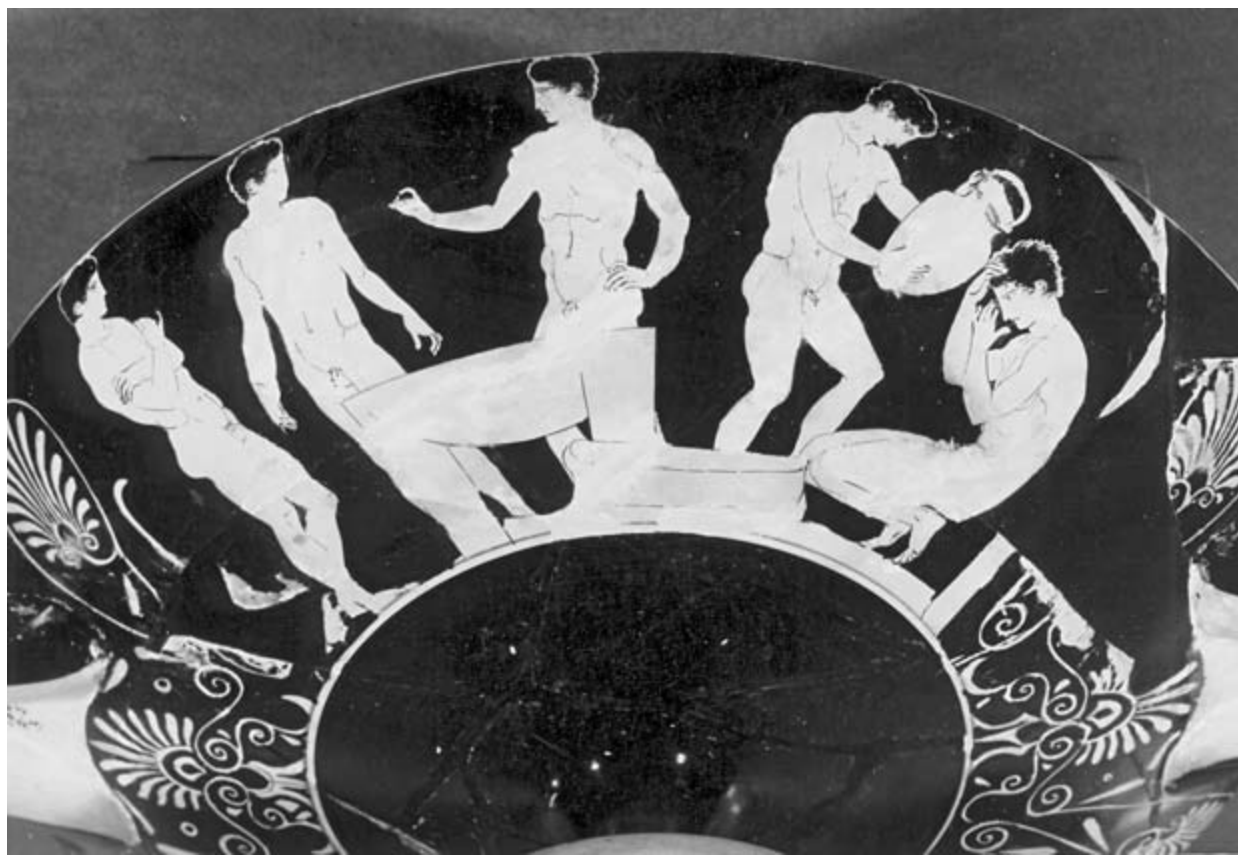


Plate 34 (cat. 24). The Apodyterion cup (courtesy of the British Museum © Copyright the Trustees of The British Museum).

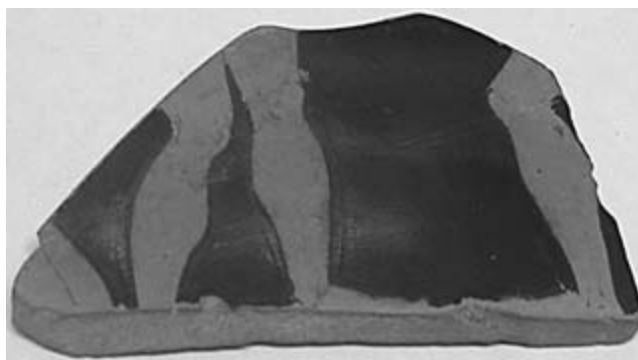


Plate 35 (cat. 28). Populonia fragment in Florence (photo: author, with the permission of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Toscana).



Plate 36a



Plate 36b

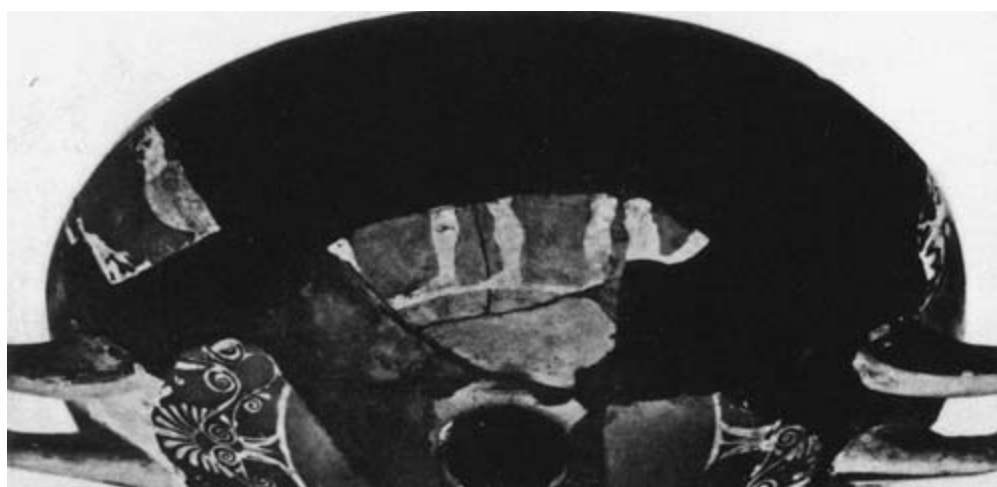


Plate 36c

Plate 36a–c (cat. 32). Cup in Florence (after CVA Florence 4, pl. 153, with the permission of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Toscana).

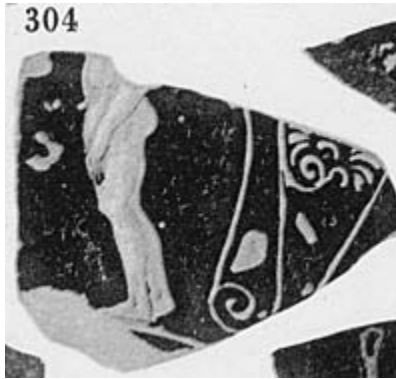


Plate 37 (cat. 39). The Florence Athletes fragment (after CVA Florence 1, pl. 17, no. 304, with the permission of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Toscana).



Plate 38a

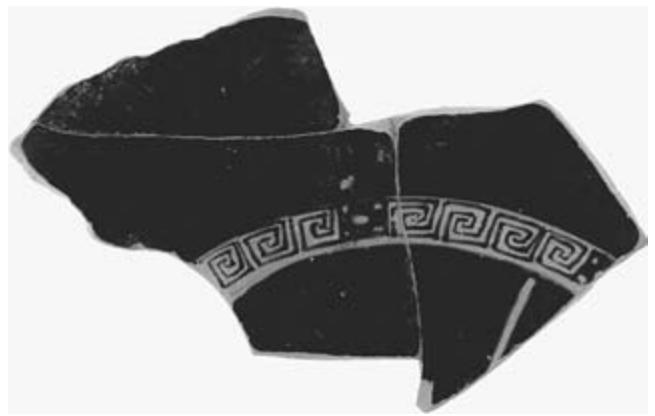


Plate 38b

Plate 38a–b (cat. 41). The Ampurias Athletes fragment (Fons del Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya).



Plate 39 (cat. 51). Fragment in Copenhagen (The National Museum, Copenhagen—Department of Classical Studies and Near Eastern Antiquities, Inv. no. 13380).



Plate 40a



Plate 40b

Plate 40a–b (cat. 25). The Basel Athletes cup (photo: Juerg Zbinden Bern, with the kind permission of the Herbert Cahn–Stiftung, Basel).



Plate 41a



Plate 41b

Plate 41a–b (cat. 26). The Castelvener cup (courtesy of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Toscana).



Plate 42 (cat. 55). Münster fragment (after *Boreas* 4 [1982]: pl. 34.1).



Plate 43a



Plate 43b

Plate 43a–c (cat. 88). The Berlin cup (courtesy of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Antikensammlung F2728).



Plate 43c



Plate 44a



Plate 44b

Plate 44a–b (cat. 67). The Florence cup (after CVA Florence 1, III, pl. 15, no. 266, with the permission of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Toscana).



Plate 45a

Plate 45a–c (cat. 68). The Cambridge Athletes cup (courtesy of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge).

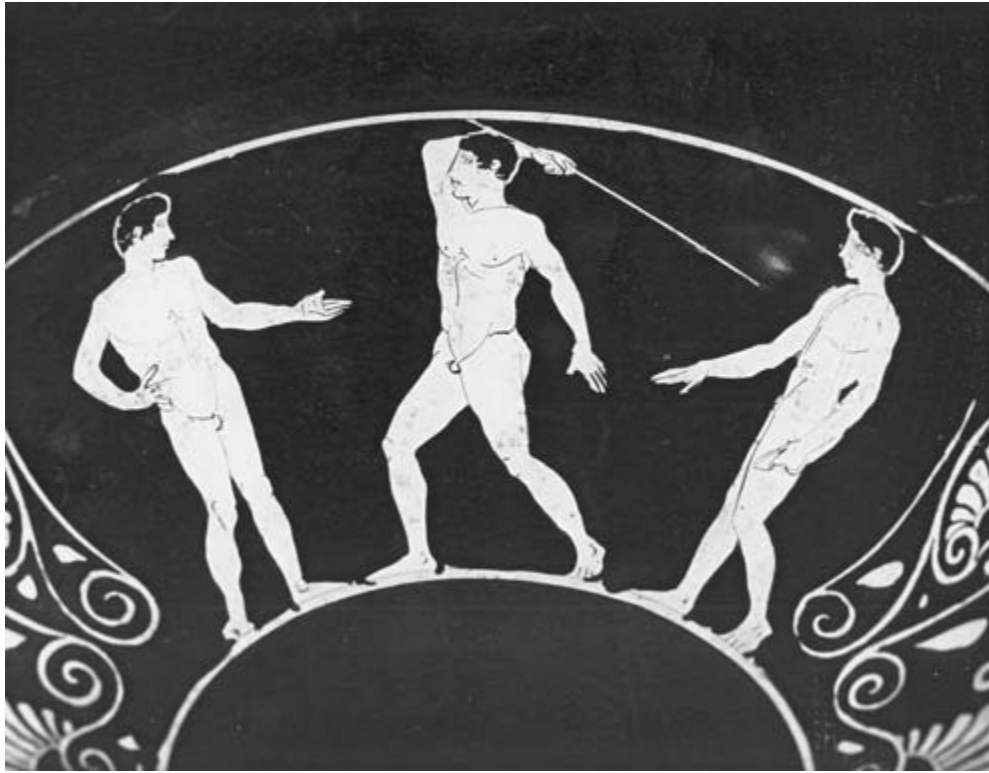


Plate 45b

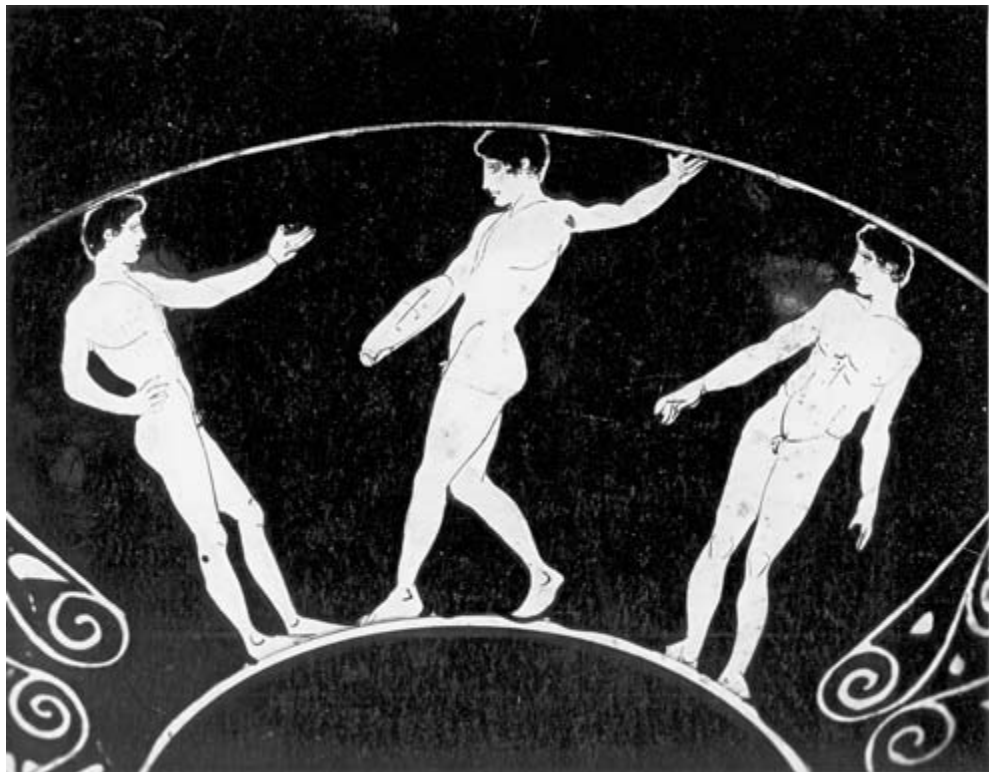


Plate 45c



Plate 46a

Plate 46a–c (cat. 58). The Copenhagen cup (courtesy of the National Museum, Copenhagen, Department of Classical and Near Eastern Antiquities [Inv. No. 3847]).



Plate 46b



Plate 46c



Plate 47 (cat. 37). The Xenon cup (courtesy of the British Museum © Copyright the Trustees of The British Museum).



Plate 48a



Plate 48b

Plate 48a–b (cat. 44). The British Museum Athletes cup (courtesy of the British Museum © Copyright the Trustees of The British Museum).



Plate 49 (cat. 46). The Villa Giulia cup (courtesy of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Etruria Meridionale, Rome).



Plate 50 (cat. 45). The Brussels cup (Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Bruxelles).



Plate 51 (cat. 43). The Ampurias fragment (Fons del Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya).



Plate 52a



Plate 52b

Plate 52a–c (cat. 57). The Todi cup (courtesy of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Etruria Meridionale, Rome).

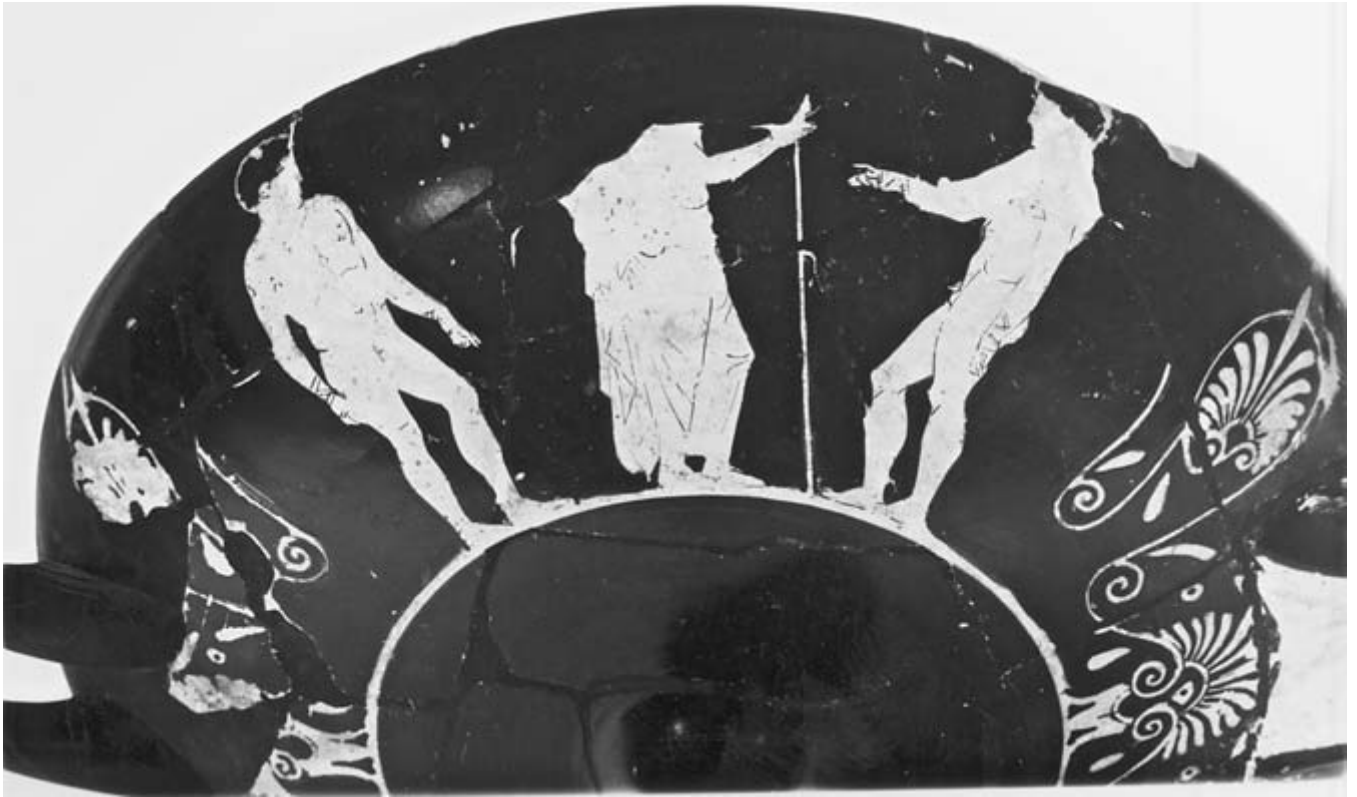


Plate 52c



Plate 53a



Plate 53b

Plate 53a–c (cat. 70). The Chapel Hill cup (courtesy of the Ackland Art Museum, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Ackland Fund).



Plate 53c



Plate 54a

Plate 54a–c (cat. 69). The Richmond cup (Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, The Arthur and Margaret Glasgow Fund ©VMFA).



Plate 54b



Plate 54c



Plate 55a



Plate 55b

Plate 55a–b (cat. 105). The Hermitage Torch Race cup (courtesy of The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg).



Plate 56a



Plate 56b

Plate 56a–b (cat. 95). The Geneva Athletes cup (after Vanhove 1996, 2:69, no. 103).



Plate 57a

Plate 57a–c (cat. 36). The Ferrara Athletes cup (courtesy of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Emilia e Romagna, su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali).



Plate 57b



Plate 57c



Plate 58a

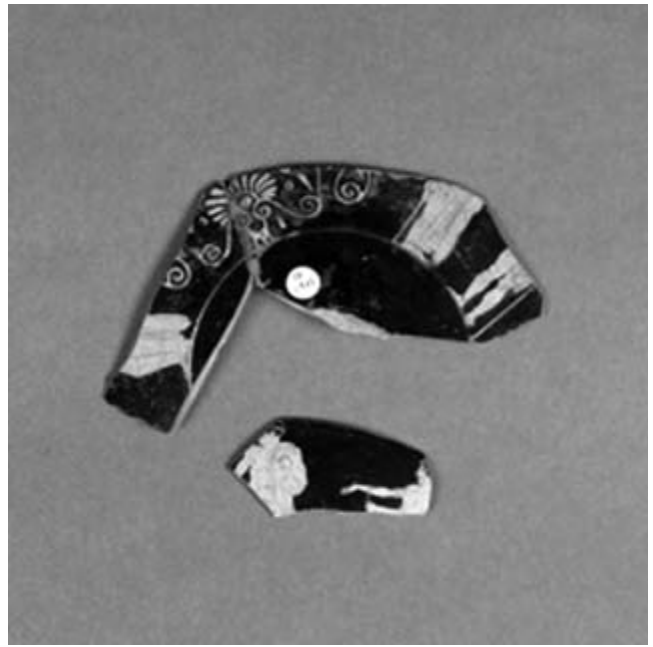


Plate 58b

Plate 58a–b (cat. 30). The Louvre Athletes cup (courtesy RMN/Apeiron).



Plate 59 (cat. 64). The Ny Carlsberg cup (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen; photo: Ole Haupt).



Plate 60a



Plate 60b

Plate 60a–b (cat. 89). The Cumae cup (Soprintendenza Archeologica Napoli e Pompei).



Plate 61a



Plate 61b



Plate 61c

Plate 61a–c (cat. 63). The Ceglie cup (after Andreassi and Radina 1988, fig. 417).



Plate 62 (cat. 65). The Duke cup (Duke University Classical Collection, Teasly Family Classical Antiquities Endowment).



Plate 63a



Plate 63b

Plate 63a–b (cat. 62). The Enserune cup (Site et Musée d'Ensérune pour le Centre des Monuments Nationaux).



Plate 64 (cat. 81). The Bremen cup (after H. Schaal, *Griechische Vasen und figürliche Tonplastik in Bremen* [Bremen: Gustav Winters, 1933], 45–46, pl. 19a).



Plate 65 (cat. 83). The Leipzig cup (courtesy Antikenmuseum der Univeristät Leipzig).



Plate 66 (cat. 47). The Corchiano cup (courtesy of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Etruria Meridionale, Rome).



Plate 67 (cat. 85). The Enserune palmette (Site et Musée d'Enserune pour le Centre des Monuments Nationaux).

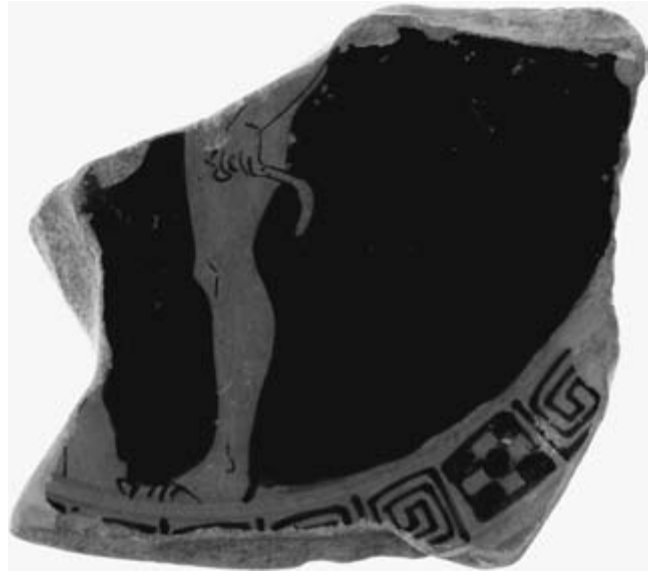


Plate 68 (cat. 48). The Ampurias tondo fragment (Fons del Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya).



Plate 69 (cat. 90). The Ferrara cup (courtesy of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici dell'Emilia e Romagna, su concessione del Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali).

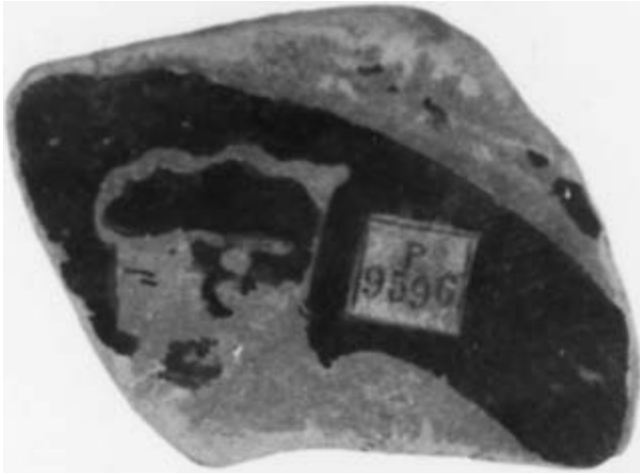


Plate 70 (cat. 96). The Reggio fragment (courtesy Musei Civici di Reggio Emilia).



Plate 71 (cat. 97). The Würzburg fragment (courtesy of Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg; photo: K. Ohrlein).



Plate 72 (cat. 9). The Seesaw cup (after Bothmer 1961, pl. 90, no. 250).



Plate 73a



Plate 73b

Plate 73a–c (cat. 98). Namepiece of the Painter of Cambridge 72 (courtesy of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge).



Plate 73c



Plate 74 (cat. 102). Stemmed plate by the Painter of Cambridge 72 (Soprintendenza Archeologica Napoli e Pompei).

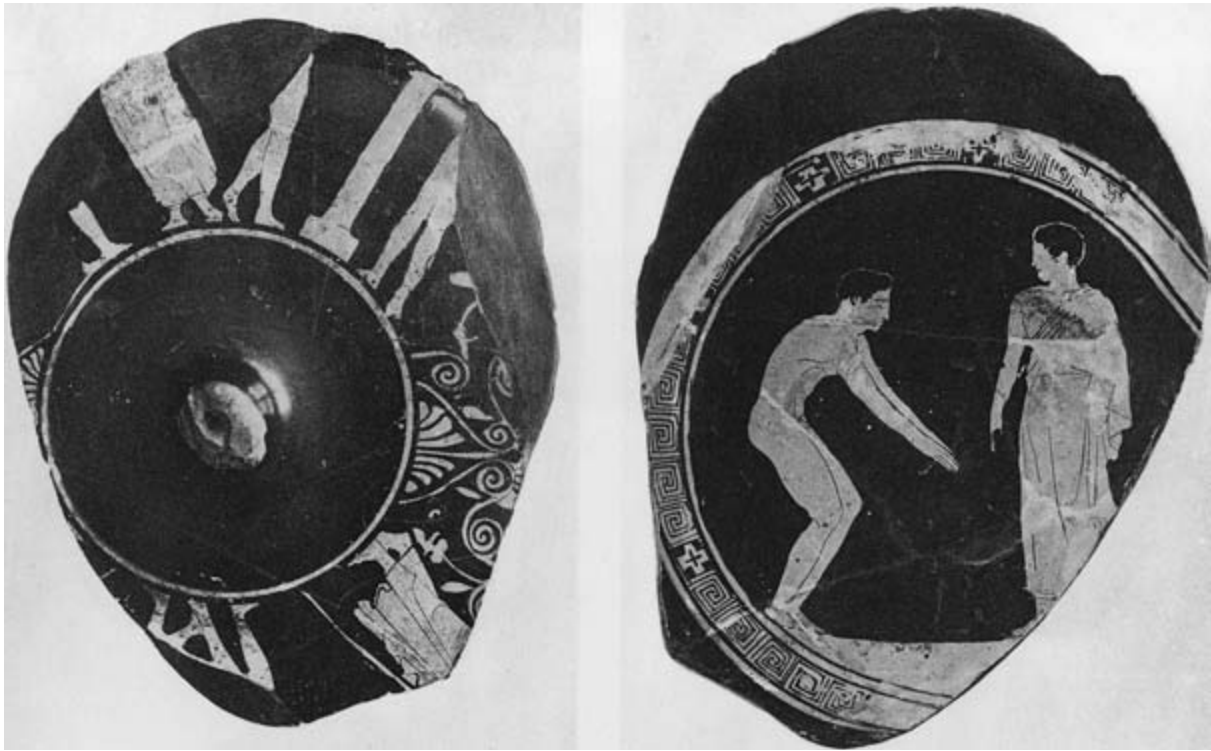


Plate 75a



Plate 75b

Plate 75a–b (cat. 103). The Greifswald cup (after A. Hundt and K. Peters, *Greifswalder Antiken* [Berlin: De Gruyter, 1961], pls. 32, 34).



Plate 76a



Plate 76b

Plate 76a–b (cat. 104). The Ghent cup (after Vanhove 1993, 1:144, no. 87).



Plate 77 (cat. 101). The Dresden stemmed plate (Skulpturensammlung, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden).

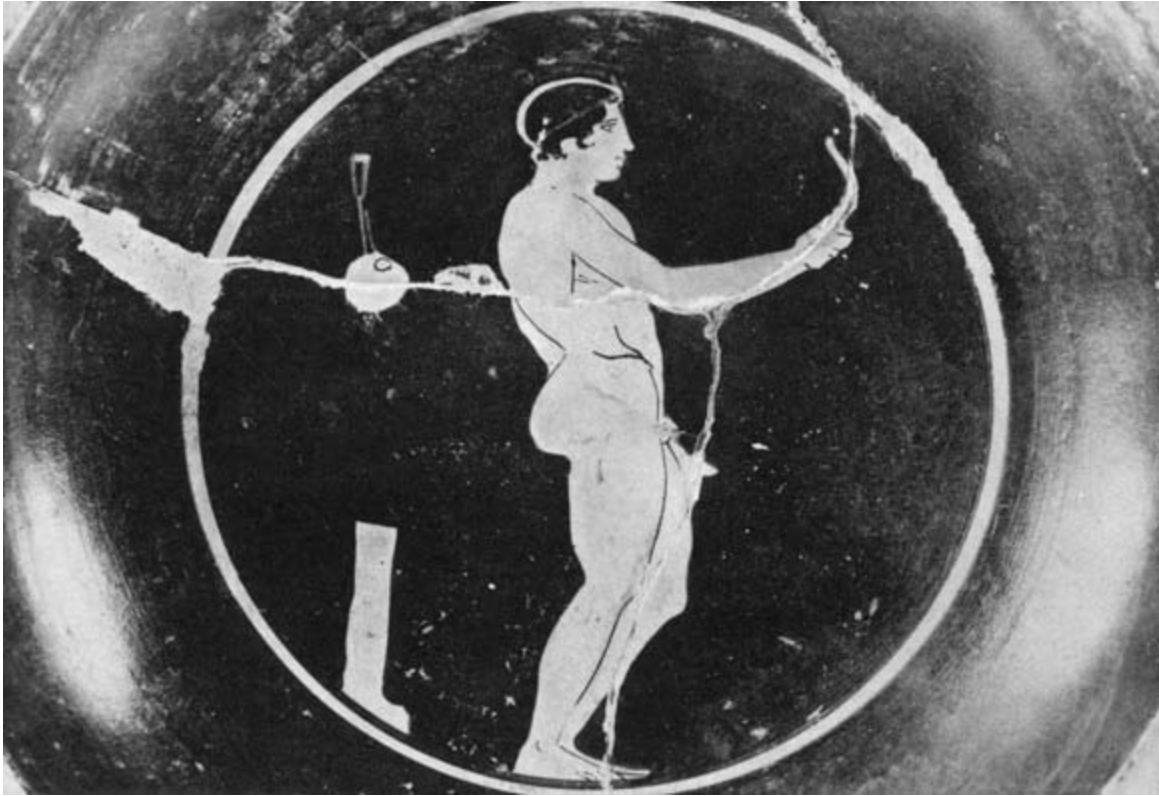


Plate 78 (cat. 106). Cup by the Painter of London E113 (after CVA Florence 4, pl. 150.2, with the permission of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Toscana).



Plate 79. East frieze of the Hephaisteion IV (Agora Archive, courtesy of the Greek Ministry of Culture, First Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities).



Plate 80. East frieze of the Hephaisteion III (Agora Archive, courtesy of the Greek Ministry of Culture, First Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities).



Plate 81. Nemesis base, front (after Petrakos 1986, pl. 112).

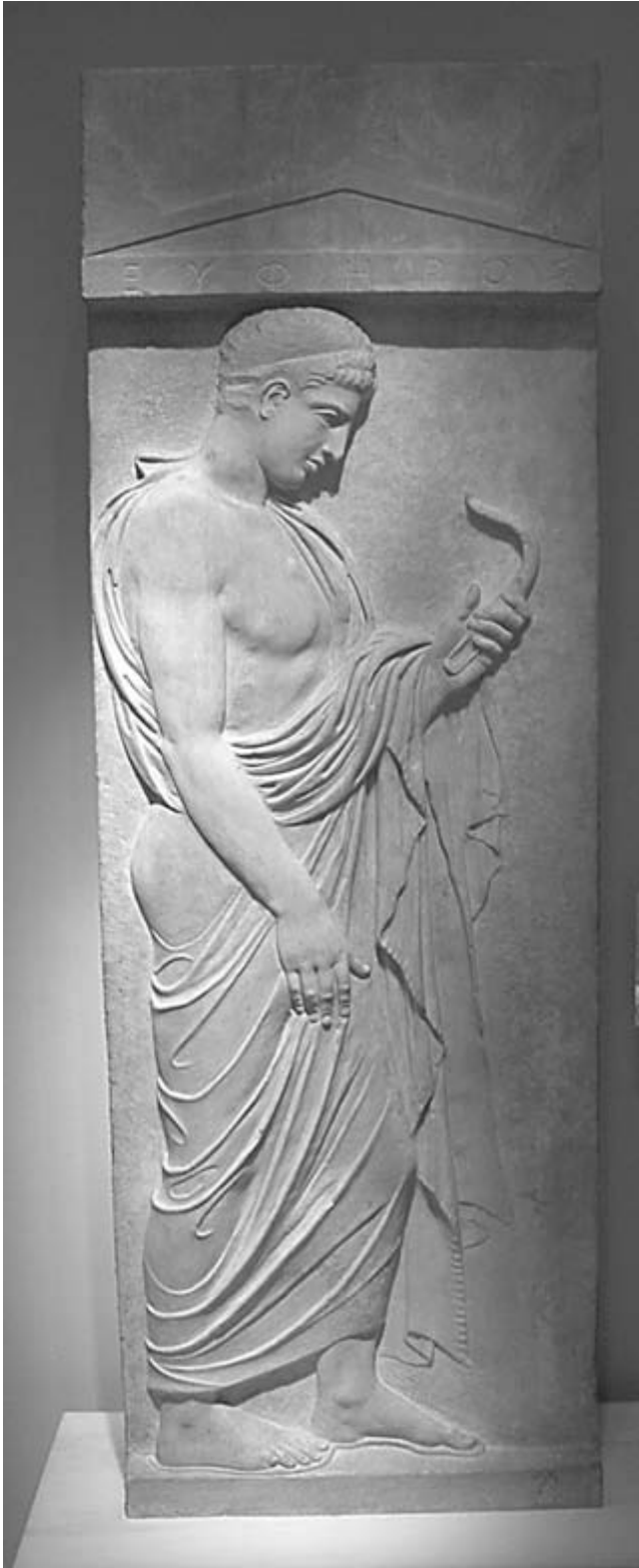


Plate 82. The Eupheros stele (Kerameikos Museum P 1169 I 417, courtesy of the Greek Ministry of Culture, Third Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities; photo: author).



Plate 83. Funerary stele in Copenhagen (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen [2561]; photo: Ole Haupt).



Plate 84. Funerary stele from Megara (Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts; museum purchase from Brummer Gallery, NY).



Plate 85. The stele of Philoxenos and Philomene (The J. Paul Getty Museum, Villa Collection Malibu, CA, 83.AA.378)



Plate 86. The stele of Chaeredemos and Lykeas (courtesy of the Piraeus Museum, Twenty-first Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities).



Plate 87. Funerary stele with a maiden (Athens, National Museum 910; courtesy National Archaeological Museum, Athens—YPPO/TAPA Athens).



Plate 88. Funerary stele of a woman with mirror (Kerameikos Museum P 685, courtesy of the Greek Ministry of Culture, Third Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities; photo: DAI Athen Kerameikos 6165).



Plate 89. Votive relief in Copenhagen (Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen [1430]; photo: Ole Haupt).



Plate 90. Relief with a youth putting reins on his horse (Athens, National Museum 1394; courtesy National Archaeological Museum, Athens—YPPO/TAPA Athens).

NOTES

ABBREVIATIONS

Bibliographic references throughout this volume follow the conventions and abbreviations listed in the *American Journal of Archaeology* 111 (2007): 3–34; references to ancient sources follow the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, ed. S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

<i>L'abitato</i>	<i>L'abitato Etrusco di Montereggi: Scavi 1982–85</i> . Katalog Ausstellung, Capraia e Limite. 1985.
<i>Add.</i> ²	Carpenter, T. H., T. Mannack, and M. Mendonça. 1989. <i>Beazley Addenda: Additional References to ABV, ARV² and Paralipomena</i> . 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
<i>Agathos Daimon</i>	<i>Agathos Daimon—Mythes et Cultes: Etudes d'iconographie en l'honneur de Lilly Kabil</i> , BCH Suppl. 38 (2000). Paris: Boccard.
<i>ARV</i> ²	Beazley, J. D. 1963. <i>Attic Red-figure Vase-painters</i> . 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
<i>CVA</i>	<i>Corpus vasorum antiquorum</i>
<i>Delphes</i>	<i>Cent ans après la grande fouille, Essai de bilan: Actes du colloque international 17–20 septembre 1992</i> , ed. A. Jacquemin, BCH Suppl. 26. Athens: École Française d'Athènes.
<i>LIMC</i>	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> . Zurich and Munich, 1974–.
<i>Para.</i>	Beazley, J. D. 1971. <i>Paralipomena: Additions to Attic Black-figure Vase-painters and to Attic Red-figure Vase-painters</i> . 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
<i>RE</i>	Pauly-Wissowa, <i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> . Stuttgart, 1863–.

PREFACE

1. E.g., Whitley 1997 and the response by Oakley 1998; see also Williams 1996 for a reassessment of Beazley's methodology. For the most recent overview of the state of the field, see J. Oakley, "Greek Vase Painting," *AJA* 113 (2009): 599–627.

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1. Transliterated forms of Greek names have been used except in a few cases where it seemed preferable to go with common use and Sir John Beazley's terminology: thus, e.g., Pericles, Plato, and the Codrus Painter himself.

2. Hoppin 1919, 16, n. 1; Richter and Hall 1936, 180, n. 1.

3. Gerhard 1858, 102–4, pl. CCCXXVIII; 50–51, pl. CCLXXVII.

4. Furtwängler 1885, 718–19 (2537), 719–20 (2538), 781 (2728).

5. *ARV*¹ 660; Harrow on the Hill School Coll. 52; Neils 1987, 132, no. 112. See also section 6.3, pp. 37–38 below.

6. Smith 1896, 108–12, 116–18. On the excavations at Vulci by the Prince of Canino, see Nørskov 2002, 58–64.

7. Pellegrini 1900, 39–42; 1912, 198 (G33, pl. II).

8. Hoppin 1919, 1:14–16, 2:153–54.

9. For a discussion of the chous, see section 3.1, p. 17 below.

10. Ducati 1922, 377–79, fig. 276; 379–81, fig. 277; 390–91, fig. 284; 394–97, fig. 287.

11. Pfuhl 1923, 574: "Welch ein Abstand trennt diese feierlich gestimmte und doch so menschliche Götterschar von den naiv menschlichen Symposien auf archaischen Schalen!"

12. Dugas 1930, 47–52, 56–60, 61–65, 69. On the difficulties of attribution between the Codrus Painter and Aison, see also pp. 29–30, 38 below.

13. Furtwängler, Hauser, and Reichhold 1932, 50–51, 110, pl. 140.

14. Beazley 1925, 425–26.

15. *Ibid.* In his *Greek Vases in Poland*, Beazley mentions the Apodyterion cup (cat. 24) in passing, while he describes the style

of the Codrus Painter as corresponding to South Italian painters, such as the Sisyphus Painter (Beazley 1928, 42, 69, 74). Regarding the attribution of the chous, see section 3.1, pp. 17–18 below.

16. The cup is now attributed to the Phiale Painter (ARV 1024, 112; ARV² 1024, 150, 1678; Oakley 1990, pls. 128–29 [150]).

17. Beazley 1942, 739–42, endorsed by Richter 1958, 135.

18. ARV² 1268–72.

19. *Ibid.*, 1272–75.

20. *Ibid.*, 1689.

21. *Para.* 472. Cf. *Add.*², compiled by T. Carpenter, T. Manack, and M. Mendonça, for additional bibliography about the cups already registered by Beazley.

22. Attributions made by Lezzi-Hafter: cat. 14, 56, 61, 62, 85, 86. On the chous (cat. 66), see section 3.1, pp. 17–18 below.

23. Isler-Kerényi 1973, 23–33, esp. 30. On the Codrus Painter and Aison, see also pp. 29–30 below.

24. Nørskov 2002, 62.

25. See also Preface and pp. xi–xii, 4–9.

26. Lezzi-Hafter 1988, 11.

27. Red-figure lekythos, Athens, Nat. M. (Athens Metro Excavations), Inv. A 15281: Parlama and Stampolidis, 2000, 352, 355, no. 387.

28. Lezzi-Hafter 1988, pl. 66a.

29. Equally helpful for comparison is a squat red-figure lekythos by Aison from Athens, tomb 116: Athens, Nat. M. (Athens Metro Excavations), Inv. A 15329, ca. 420; Parlama and Stampolidis, 2000, 267, no. 408.

30. For an overview of findspots, see Lezzi-Hafter 1988, 11–24.

31. Lezzi-Hafter 1988, 13, no. 9: the large hypogaeum produced many finds, including vases by the Niobid Painter, the Eretria Painter, and the Codrus Painter (cup type C, ARV² 1271.32; the Ceglie cup, cat. 63, pl. 61a–c).

32. Lezzi-Hafter 1988, 15, no. 20: Tomb of Vases and Bronzes (Bendinelli 1916, 881–84, 891–92, figs. 34.893–94; 895–98; 901–21). Among the finds are cups by the Eretria Painter (Lezzi-Hafter 1988, no. 33, pl. 29), the Veii Painter, the Painter of London E777, the Codrus Painter (two cups of type B: Inv. 27258, ARV² 1271.27, 177; and Inv. 27259, ARV² 1272.41; here cat. 57, pl. 52; cat. 46, pl. 49) and a cup of type B possibly by Aison, Inv. 27260, ARV² 1177.1.

33. Lezzi-Hafter 1988, 19, no. 34: tomb 392 in Spina, Valle Trebbia (Aurigemma 1960, 14.194–97, pls. 223–36). The finds included a cup of type B attributed to a painter between the Codrus Painter and Aison (ARV² 1274.2; here cat. 90, pl. 69), a rhyton by the Eretria Painter, and a column krater by the Orpheus Painter (ARV² 1104.8), as well as an askos and a skyphos of the St. Valentine type.

34. See chapter 13 in this volume.

CHAPTER 2. DEFINING THE STYLE OF THE CODRUS PAINTER

1. On connoisseurship, see Boardman 2001, 128–38.

2. Richter and Hall 1936, 179–80.

3. For the attribution of the chous, see section 3.1, pp. 17–18 below.

4. Lezzi-Hafter 1992, 64–66; 1988, 125 and 133 (pointing out the similarities of palmette decoration between the followers of the Codrus Painter and the Marlay Group). For the “Kanonisches

Ornament” of the Codrus Painter, see CVA Basel 2, pl. 31.1–2 (V. Slehoferova).

5. Cf. Lezzi-Hafter 1988, 125–26. Also see, e.g., the fragmentary central palmette and the antefixes of the Parthenon: Maischberger and Heilmeyer 2002, 378–79, no. 252d; Vlassopoulou 1988, 30, no. 63.

6. Lawrence 1996, 117, fig. 181.

7. Vlassopoulou 1988, 29, no. 59, may be compared to palmette type III.

8. Lawrence 1996, 123, figs. 192–94. The crown of the mid-fifth century stele in Athens, Nat. M., Inv. 741 from Larissa, is also close to type IIIa: Kaltsas 2001, 97–98, no. 172.

9. Particularly for the cup once in Charterhouse (cat. 94, pl. 30a–c), Lezzi-Hafter (1992, 64–66) shows that this type of palmette decoration was an invention of Aison, inspired by floral motifs on oinochoai. As noted above, the rounded tips of the leaves are a trait of the Codrus Painter: cf. n. 4.

10. Lezzi-Hafter 1992, 64, n. 19.

11. The reserved line in the tondo is usually characteristic of the Painter of London E113. See also Seki 1985, 91. Lezzi-Hafter (1988, 303) points out that the ground line on cups by the Codrus Painter often has a shaky upper line, giving the impression that the figures are “walking on sand”; see, e.g., the Erichthonios cup (cat. 2, pl. 3a).

CHAPTER 3. RECONSIDERING SOME ATTRIBUTIONS

1. Lezzi-Hafter 1988, 190–93, 203–4, fig. 61b, pl. 195a.

2. For a discussion of the Herakles and Cambridge cups, see sections 9.3 and 9.4, pp. 54–56 in this volume.

3. Lezzi-Hafter 1988, 191, 203–4, n. 273 (211); LIMC VI, Kisos I 4, pl. 33 (A. Kossatz-Deissmann). Cf. the chous by the Heilmarmene Painter: Lezzi-Hafter 1988, 206–7, n. 317, pl. 142 (230).

4. Dresden, Albertinum 356: ARV² 1271.33.

5. Cf. the anatomical details of figure-types by the Eretria Painter: Lezzi-Hafter 1988, 25, fig. 4e, i.

6. The mantle of the figure on the extreme right is over-painted; see Boardman and Pope 1961.

7. ARV² 1272.46, 1689; Boardman and Pope 1961.

8. ARV² 1271.34; *Para.* 471.

9. Again some affinities with the Eretria Painter are notable; cf. the figure-type illustrated in Lezzi-Hafter 1988, 31, fig. 5a.

10. For the Astarita cup, see section 8.4, pp. 49–50; the cup was first discussed by Beazley 1960, 219–21, without the Timandra fragments.

11. Shapiro 1993, 200, n. 128, fig. 161.

12. Hornbostel 1977, 331, no. 283.

CHAPTER 4. SHAPES, STYLE, AND CHRONOLOGY

1. Lezzi-Hafter 1988, 73, n. 76a, 86–97—in contrast to, e.g., Aison, who followed the Penthesilean cup tradition.

2. Cf. the similar pattern for the Eretria Painter: *ibid.*, 37.

3. *Ibid.*, 86.

4. *Ibid.*, 86–88.

5. *Ibid.*, 88. The Altenburg vase (cat. 12, pl. 27) is probably a type E kylix, but it is too heavily restored to be certain.

6. ARV² 1305–6; Oakley 2005, 267–69, with picture of the tondo of the plate in Dresden (cat. 101, pl. 77).

7. The elaborate palmettes of the Phrixos cup recall the floral motifs of the Themis cup (cat. 17, pl. 8a–c) and the palmette of a fragmentary cup in Florence (cat. 13, pl. 12).

8. Cf. Medea and Leda, details of drapery, such as the way the peplos fold is tacked under the belt, and the profiles of Tyndareos and Ainetos. A fragment from the Acropolis in Athens (cat. 7, pl. 4) depicts part of a column and the head of a bearded man facing left, covered with his mantle, who is very similar to Tyndareos.

9. See for example the head of Prometheus, which recalls the male heads of the Divine Banquet cup (cat. 3, pl. 10a–c). Of similar style is a fragmentary cup in the Tampa Museum of Art (cat. 11, pl. 18), which depicts a woman involved in a libation and a warrior (only a hand holding a spear survives) facing a white-haired man who strongly recalls Prometheus on the Astarita fragment.

10. E.g., the maenad is very similar to Ariadne on the Divine Banquet cup (cat. 3, pl. 10b).

11. The Penthesilea cup is dated ca. 460/450 (Ferrara, M. Naz., Inv. 44885; ARV² 882.35, 1673; Alfieri and Arias 1958, 35–39, figs. 28–29) and is also discussed here with regard to cycle cup decoration (section 6.3, p. 37 below).

12. See, e.g., the similarity between the fringed mantle and chiton of the figure identified as Apollo on the Brauron cup (cat. 20, pl. 11b) and the drapery of Erechtheus on the Erichthonios cup (cat. 2, pl. 3a).

13. It is interesting to note that the peplos of the woman assisting a libation on the exterior of the Triton cup is decorated with a pair of black stripes, a motif found again on the peploi of the maenads depicted on the Dionysos cup (cat. 53, pl. 21b–c) and on two female figures on the Naples cup attributed to a painter between the Codrus Painter and Aison (cat. 87, pl. 29b–c).

14. The fragment in Tarquinia (cat. 21, pl. 20) is in the same spirit, both in the drawing of the satyr and the maenad and in the floral motif. See also p. 52.

15. The subject of a Nike honoring an athlete is quite common during this period; see, e.g., the pelike in the Manner of the Painter of Louvre 4539, dated to the end of the fifth century: Vanhove 1998, 3:92, no. 122.

16. Cf. the calyx krater by the Dinos Painter: CVA British Museum 10, 63–64, pl. 32, col. pl. C, cat. no. 33 (V. Smallwood and S. Woodford).

17. For example, the male figure in the middle of side A strongly recalls the figure of Alkmaion on the Basel cup (cat. 15, pl. 9c).

18. See also pp. 13–14.

19. The youth in the tondo recalls similar figure types, as on the Apodyterion cup (cat. 24, pl. 34) and the tondo of the Zurich cup (cat. 31, pl. 28b), even though the drawing is of inferior quality. The athletes on the exterior are close to the figures depicted on the Cassandra cup (cat. 19, pl. 16) and the Louvre Athletes cup (cat. 30, pl. 58).

20. See p. 85.

21. The known provenance of the Todi cup (Todi in Contrada S. Raffaele in Central Italy: see section 1.2 above) gives us a fixed point for the dating of this vase and those around it.

22. See pp. 17–18.

23. See pp. 55–56.

24. We are fortunate to know the context of the cup in the Villa Giulia (cat. 57, pl. 52) and the kylix from Ceglie (cat. 63, pl. 61); see section 1.2 above.

25. ARV² 1272–74.

26. On Aison, see Dugas 1930; Zarkadas 1995/6.

27. For more examples of faces in three-quarter view, see section 2.3, p. 14 (no. 9).

28. A similar figure is depicted on a cup in a private collection in Zurich (cat. 31, pl. 28a).

29. On the advances in painting by Mikon and Polygnotos, see Robertson 1975, 245.

30. The cup from Spina (cat. 90) has a secure context, which allows us to use it as a point of reference for this group of vases (see section 1.2).

31. Lezzi-Hafter 1988, 133.

32. Beazley 1933, 28, no. 268. For a summary of the history of research on the Campana Collection, see his introduction with further bibliography.

33. CVA Cambridge 1, 30, pls. XXV.7, XXVII.1 (W. Lamb). It is dated ca. 425–420.

34. Cf. the Würzburg fragment (cat. 97, pl. 71) for the palmette: Weiss 1988, 340–44, figs. 57–58. See, in particular, the figure covered with his mantle, who brings to mind the refined paidagogos of the Ferrara cup (cat. 36, pl. 57c), and the athlete on the right, extending his hand toward the previous figure, with a stance that evokes the elegant pose of Charmides and Lykos on the Basel Athletes and Castelvenera cups (cat. 25, pl. 40; cat. 26, pl. 41), further echoed on the Naples cup (cat. 87, pl. 29c) and a cup in a private collection in Münster (cat. 55, pl. 42).

35. ARV² 1299.1–7.

36. ARV² 1391–97; *Para.* 487.

37. Hornbostel 1977, 331, no. 283.

CHAPTER 5. THE CODRUS PAINTER AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

1. See Isler-Kerényi 1973.

2. For a discussion of the findspots of the Codrus Painter's vases and Etruria as his favorite target market, see chapter 12.

3. Lezzi-Hafter 1988, 37, 125–26. She also notes an interest in horses: in the case of the Codrus Painter, see the Phrixos (cat. 4, pl. 15) and Cambridge cups (cat. 54, pl. 23).

4. ARV² 1247–68. The exception is the Painter of the Naples Hydriskai. Many loutrophoroi by his hand were discovered on the Acropolis: ARV² 1266. Mugione 2000, pl. 7, reports that out of 117 vases by the Eretria Painter, 25.6 percent were discovered in Greece, 20 percent in Etruria, and less than 5 percent in South Italy.

5. E.g., his namepiece, which depicts Codrus (cat. 1, pl. 1a); the birth of Erichthonios witnessed by legendary Athenian kings (cat. 2, pl. 3a–b); Aigeus meeting Themis (cat. 17, pl. 8a).

6. See, e.g., the epinetron by the Eretria Painter: Lezzi-Hafter 1988, 253–62, pls. 168–69.

7. Lezzi-Hafter 1988, 31, 34–35, 43, 288: e.g., both painters illustrated the adventures of Theseus on decorated cycle cups, as well as similar departure scenes, tribal heroes, and mythological episodes (cf. the Codrus cup and the Erichthonios cup). On the archaistic style of some vases by the Eretria Painter and the Codrus Painter, see *ibid.*, 43, n. 49.

8. *Ibid.*, 135–47, 155–63.
9. For example: *ibid.*, 162, no. 15 (London E102), the Herakles cup (cat. 22, pl. 22a–c), and the Cambridge cup by the Codrus Painter (cat. 54, pl. 23a–c).
10. See the Phrixos cup (cat. 4, pl. 15a–c) and the Cambridge cup (cat. 54, pl. 23a–c). Lezzi-Hafter 1988, 150.
11. On the oinochoe by the Eretria Painter, Palermo, N.I. 484: ARV² 1249.21; Lezzi-Hafter 1988, 351, no. 283, pl. 182a. Harrison (1979 72–75) elaborates on the representation of Pandion as an Athenian tribal hero. See also Matheson 2005.
12. On the kantharos by the Eretria Painter, Paris, Cabinet des Médailles R851: ARV² 1251.41; Lezzi-Hafter 1988, 352, no. 285, pl. 184.
13. Lezzi-Hafter 1988, 34, no. 38, pls. 36–37; 151–54. For a discussion of the surviving Theseus cycle cups, see pp. 37–38 below.
14. Lezzi-Hafter 1988, 151; for more discussion and references, see pp. 36–39 below.
15. Lezzi-Hafter 1988, 11, 22; Isler-Kerényi 1973, 30–31.
16. Lezzi-Hafter 1988, 31, 125.
17. *Ibid.*, 35, pl. 182b–d, pl. 182a, pl. 184 and no. 307, pl. 189d–e for the Calliope Painter.
18. Compare, e.g., the cup in pl. 2a (Lezzi-Hafter 1988, pl. 100 [144]) and the Codrus cup (cat. 1, pl. 1c), and also pl. 2b versus the Phrixos cup (cat. 4, pl. 15b–c). For comparanda with the Disney Painter and for the Painter of the Naples Hydriskai, see Lezzi-Hafter 1988, pl. 90 (132) and pl. 79 (98). Some late works by the Codrus Painter, and particularly some that are classified as Compare to the Codrus Painter and Aison (e.g., cat. 89, pl. 60), recall the style of the Shuvalov Painter (Lezzi-Hafter 1976, 85, 98).
19. Dugas 1930; Zarkadas 1995/6. See also pp. 29–30.
20. See Olmos 1992; von den Hoff 2002, 331–37; and pp. 37–38 in this volume.
21. For the iconography of the vase, see Burn 1987, 11–13, 50–52, 98 (M15), pl. 33a–c. For the arguments regarding the identity of the vase-painter and the assumed master-pupil relationship between the Meidias Painter, Aison, and the Codrus Painter, see Knigge 1975, 123–43; Lezzi-Hafter 1992, 64; Wehgartner 1992. Also on Aison, see Zarkadas 1995/6. I was unable to consult Cramers 1980.
22. After pursuing an identification of Aison with the young Meidias Painter, which resulted in the creation of one personality out of the two painters, Knigge (1975) characterized the vase as an early work by the Meidias Painter. Lezzi-Hafter (1992, 64) preferred to keep the two painters separate and attributed the Kerameikos chous to the Meidias Painter, while she elaborated further on the master-pupil relationship, arguing for a linear sequence that explained the Meidias Painter as a pupil of Aison, and Aison as a pupil of the Codrus Painter. More precisely, Lezzi-Hafter argued that Aison left the Codrus Painter's workshop along with other pupils (the so-called Philadelphiea Group), who were under the influence of the Penthesilean workshop. Wehgartner (1992) followed a different approach; she also disagreed with Knigge's identification of Aison with the young Meidias Painter but arrived at different conclusions. After attributing the chous to Aison, she accepted that he began his career in the workshop of the Codrus Painter, but instead of a teacher-pupil relationship,

she suggested that Aison moved from that workshop to the Meidias Painter's, along with a group of other vase-painters. She envisioned every workshop as a place of constant experimentation and specialization of roles (one person as a potter, another for the ornamental decoration, a third for the figures, etc.), an arrangement that explained, in her opinion, not only the similarity in motifs but also the differences in style. This workshop theory stands in direct contrast with scholars who point to teacher-student roles to explain stylistic differences.

23. Burn 1987, 1–14.
24. Lezzi-Hafter 1988, 48, n. 56, 136. On the other hand Richter (1958, 117) sees an influence from the Codrus Painter on the Meidias Painter. For vases with Dionysiac elements by Aison, see the plastic kantharos in the shape of a satyr's head: ARV² 1174.5, 1549.2 (note that the vase painting is not Dionysiac) and the pelike with a satyr drinking from a horn: ARV² 1177.45.
25. Pellegrini 1900, 46–48, fig. 35 (286); ARV² 1158; *Add.*² 337. Cf. the maenad on the fragmentary bell krater in Copenhagen (CVA Copenhagen 8, 268.4, pl. 350.4) to Athena on the Erichthonios cup and Ariadne on the Divine Banquet cup.
26. ARV² 1318–19; Wehgartner 1992, 96.
27. ARV² 1391–97.
28. Mugione 2000, pl. 7.
29. ARV² xliii: "This does not imply that such artists painted nothing but oinochoai, or never painted large vases; only that . . . small pots constitute a characteristic part of their output."
30. Matheson 1995, 184, 421 (KL 76), 485 (PGU 197, 198).
31. Matheson (*ibid.*, 102–8, 147, 156–60) characterizes the Peleus Painter as the Polygnotan painter with the most affinities to the Parthenon and considers the work of the Dinos Painter as transitional, with associations with the work of the Codrus Painter, Aison, and Polion. Also see Isler-Kerényi 1973, 27. It is interesting that the Dinos Painter, in contrast to the Peleus Painter, the Kleophon Painter, and the Group of Polygnotos, appears to have exported most of his vases to Greece (41 percent of 78 surviving vases): Mugione 2000, pls. 5, 7.
32. Alfieri and Arias 1958, 56–57.
33. E.g., the cup by the Kleophon Painter in Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1925.621: ARV² 1147.68; CVA Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1, 9, pls. 4.2, 12.1–2.

CHAPTER 6. MYTHOLOGICAL SUBJECTS

1. Bažant (1990, 93–112) correlates vases with representations of warriors, athletes, Theseus, and symposia and provides charts and catalogues of scenes dating from the sixth to the fourth century. See also Schäfer 1997.
2. Lissarrague (1985, 3–16, esp. 9) observes how the painter uses the libation scene to underline the important moment in a family when some of its members depart.
3. Ainetos was the son of Deion and Diomedes, and brother of Aktor, Phylax, and Kephalos: Kron 1976, 137–39, pls. 15.1, 16. *LIMC* I Ainetos, 396 no. 1 (U. Kron); Kearns 1989, 143. Dugas (1930, 47–52, fig. 5) attributes the cup to Aison. On Codrus, see *LIMC* VI Codrus, 86–88 (E. Simon); Kron 1976, esp. 137–39, 221–23, pls. 15.1, 16.1–2; Kron 1999, esp. 75–83; Pritchett 1979, 305; Parke and Wormell 1956, 269; Robertson (1988) traces the root of Codrus' name to the cedar tree, thus reducing the figure

of the Athenian king to a personification of the wood necessary for the sacrifice. Cf. Kearns 1989, 56, 178, and 1990, 323–44, esp. 328–30. See also Harrison 1979; Krumeich 1997, 97.

4. Simon (*LIMC* VI Codrus, 86–88) thinks that the Chimaera suggests possible connections with Lycia.

5. There are two main versions of the myth in which Codrus was disguised either as a simple woodcutter or as a common soldier. Kron (1999, 75) mentions that the myth is not attested before the fifth–early fourth century. See, e.g., Hdt. 1.47; Pherekydes, *FGrH* 3, F154; *IG* II² 4258 (Augustan epigram); Hellanikus, *FGrH* 323a, F23; Pl. *Symp.* 208D; Lycurg. *Leoc.* 86; Paus. 1.19.5; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 8, 31. The inscription of a sanctuary of Neleus, Basile, and Codrus (*IG* I³ 84) dates to 418/417. For a picture of the roughly picked relief and commentary, see Lawton 1995, 83–84, no. 4, pl. 2. See also R. E. Wycherley, “Neleion,” *BSA* 55 (1960): 60–66; Kron 1976, 53, no. 20, 221, no. 1081; Shapiro 1983, esp. 94; Shapiro 1986; Shapiro 1993, 37. Robertson (1988, 238) suggests that the Neleion was probably a tribute paid by the Athenians to Basile and Neleus, the founder of Miletus.

6. Robert (1919, 144–46) describes the scene as a farewell as the warriors depart for the war against the Amazons, since Phorbas accompanied Theseus on that occasion. See also Herter 1936, 230; Schefold 1988, 272–73, figs. 322–24.

7. *LIMC* I Aias I, 316, no. 13 (O. Touchefeu); Kron 1976, 171–76.

8. Kearns 1989, 182. For an earlier representation of Lykos with other mythical kings of Athens, see the red-figure calyx krater by the Syriskos Painter in Athens, Nat. M., 480 BCE, Inv. 15115, Acr. 735: *LIMC* VI Lykos II, 305, no. 1 (Gr. Berger-Doer). The question whether Lykos son of Pandion (II) and Lykos the wolflike court daimon are one and the same remains open: *ibid.*, 304; Farnell 1921, 417, no. 174.

9. Cf. the use of Aias son of Telamon in Athenian propaganda: e.g., the Basel cup, section 6.5, esp. pp. 40–42.

10. Menestheus was not as popular as Theseus, and the two heroes competed several times for the kingship of Athens. However, in the fifth century Kimon turned to this mythical figure and granted him honors equal to Theseus’ because Menestheus’ friendship with the Dioskouroi enabled Kimon to promote his own philolaconian sentiments: Farnell 1921, 411, no. 86; *LIMC* VI Menestheus, 473, 474, no. 2 (E. Simon).

11. The figure resembles Achilles on the amphora by the homonymous painter and the Doryphoros statue: De Cesare 1997, 204, figs. 138–39. Kron (1976, 175–76) suggests that a cup by Olto possibly depicts Aias as a tribe representative and draws similar conclusions for the Codrus cup.

12. Brouskari 1974, 129–30, fig. 248 (140).

13. Robert 1919, 144–46; Farnell 1921, 410, no. 75; Kron 1976, 171–76; *LIMC* VI Melite II, 446–47, no. 1 (A. Spetsieri-Choremi); Kearns 1989, 184. For the cult of Eurysakes and the attempt to control Phaleron and Salamis through mythological and cultural assimilation between Athens and her neighbors, see Calame 1990, 352.

14. Farnell 1921, 403, no. 2; *LIMC* I Aigeus, 363, no. 36 (U. Kron).

15. *LIMC* VII Theseus, 935, no. 166 (J. Neils). For representations of Aigeus with Theseus, see Kron 1976, 128–40.

16. It seems that the painter follows the version where Medea was married to Aigeus: *LIMC* VI Medea, 386 (M. Schimdt). On the encounter of Medea and Theseus in Attic vase painting, see Servadei 2005, 62–63, fig. 22. Medea on the Codrus cup holds the back fold of her peplos in a way that recalls Leda on the Phrixos cup (cat. 4, pl. 15b), whose fold is tucked inside the belt. A similar figure can be found on a departure scene decorating a contemporary cup by the Painter of the Naples Hydriskai, here pl. 2: *ARV*² 1267.6; *CVA* Florence 4 III, I, pl. 151 (A. Maggi); Lezzi-Hafter 1988, 37, pl. 100, no. 144.

17. Phorbas usually wears a helmet when fighting against the Amazons and does so less often in other episodes. He is said to have taught Theseus the art of wrestling or racing: *LIMC* Suppl. Phorbas I, 991, no. 11 (A. Kauffman-Samaras). See also Kron 1976, 138, n. 632; Kearns 1989, 204.

18. Medea is often connected with the story of the Marathon bull as a first unsuccessful attempt to eliminate Theseus. For the variation of the myth and its relation to the lost tragedy of Euripides, *Aigeus*, see Shefton 1956, 159–63, esp. n. 29.

19. *LIMC* I Aithra I, 420–21, esp. 424, no. 48 (U. Kron); Kearns 1989, 143. For an interesting aspect of Aithra and her relationship to Athena at Troezen, see Calame 1990, 354, which suggests that during the Apatouria festival Aithra assimilates to Athena Apatouria, and consequently Theseus becomes a miniature of Poseidon.

20. E.g., *LIMC* I Aithra I, 426–27, nos. 66–69, 72.

21. Calame (1990, 196–97) discusses the role of women in Theseus’ maturity and contrasts, for example, Amphitrite’s hospitality to Medea’s mischief. For the drapery of respectable women, see Pomeroy 1975, 83.

22. Kron 1976, 137–39. Harrison (1996, 21) examines the epigram that allegedly accompanied one of the three herms set up by Kimon after Eion and the assimilation of the battle with Menestheus’ mission to Troy.

23. See also Themis replacing Pythia on the Themis cup (cat. 17, pl. 8a): Sourvinou-Inwood 1990, 138–43.

24. Shapiro (1983) discusses the different versions of the story narrated by Herodotus (5.65) and Pausanias (2.18.8–9). Robertson (1988) and Kron (1999, 75) point out that Codrus did not belong to the Attic royal family as Erechtheus did, but to a refugee family from Pylos, the Neleids, who were considered founders of several Ionic sites.

25. Cf. the pelike by Aison dated ca. 420 (*ARV*² 1176.26; *LIMC* I Aithra I, 424, no. 49), where the scene is reduced to three people: Aigeus, Theseus, and Aithra. For Theseus’ journey from Troezen and the descendants of both of his parents, see Calame 1990, 69. According to Robert 1919, 146, Poseidon, as Theseus’ divine father, is present in other adventures of his son, especially those where the representation of the sea element is required: e.g., the dive into the sea during the contest with Minos. On cases of bigamy in late fifth-century Athens and marriages to non-Athenian women, see Pomeroy 1975, 65.

26. Sourvinou-Inwood 1990, 144–47.

27. On Athena Lemnia, see Steinhart 2000. Also cf. *LIMC* II Athena, 975, no. 195, 1002, no. 500a, and 976, no. 198 for the “Lansdowne” relief: Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 231a (P. Demargne). The relief was initially thought to be a fifth-century original from

the Phidian workshop, but scholars agree today that it dates to the first century BCE and was inspired by works from the Classical era. In any case, the close association of the Codrus Painter and the Phidian sculptural style becomes more and more evident; see also chapter 13 on Attic sculpture of the fifth century and the Codrus Painter.

28. Medea's noble ideals and belief in oaths, faith, and honor are discussed in Barlow 1995, esp. 39–41. For Euripides, Medea, and her images in art, see Sourvinou-Inwood 1997. Aristotle in his *Poetics* (1461 b 19–21) criticizes Euripides for the unnecessary invention of Aigeus' marriage to Medea.

29. For the contrast between the wise (*sophos*) Theseus and the scheming (*doloplos*) Medea, see Calame 1990, 196–97. Sourvinou-Inwood (1990, 144–48) relates Medea to the Persians and explains her presence as a threat to Theseus and a “negative correlative” of Athena.

30. Eumelos, an eighth-century Corinthian poet and source of Pausanias (2.3.10–11) reports that Medea's children died accidentally as she was trying to make them immortal in the sanctuary of Hera Akraia. According to another version the Corinthians killed her children to avenge the murder of their king (Paus. 2.3.6; Schol. Eur. *Medea* 264). For a commentary on and a discussion of Medea's role in the sanctuary of Hera Akraia, see Menadier 1995, esp. 188–91.

31. See, e.g., the Decree of Themistocles: Meiggs and Lewis 1999, 48–52, no. 23, line 5. For the earliest appearance of this epithet (447/446), literary sources, and commentary on epigraphic evidence, see Barron (1964, 35–48, esp. 41–45), who argues that the epithet *medeousa* is of Eastern Greek origin and does not necessarily describe Athena Polias.

32. It is worth noting how the city goddess favors Menestheus, a hero who would have taken the kingship earlier had it not been for the unexpected appearance of Theseus. For sources see Kearns 1989, 185; see Plut. *Thes.* 35.5 for a different presentation of Menestheus.

33. Robert 1919, 145–47. Notice how instead of Periboia, mother of Aias, it is the personification of the deme Melite who participates in the scene.

34. On Theseus' origin, see Herter 1938, esp. 266–69; Walker 1995, 8; Herter (1936, 208–10) comments on Theseus' Attic-Thessalian origin and argues that taking for granted his Ionian character involves the challenge of explaining the absence of his cult in Asia Minor and the lack of clear mythological links, with the exception of Oinopion (who according to other traditions was Dionysos' son). See also Calame 1990, 112. Regarding Pittheus, Walker (1995, 12) suggests that there might have been an Attic hero named Pittheus who was confused with the better-known Pittheus of Troezen. About Phorbas, see Kearns 1989, 120, 204 (citing Hell. *FGrH* 323aF3).

35. Schol. Aristoph. *Plut.* 627; Schol. Lycophr. 1326, as mentioned in Sourvinou-Inwood 1990, 149–52. Diakria was populated by the democrats, a term that ended up characterizing the “Athenian king” Theseus. Cf. Walker 1995, 47, 113.

36. Walker (1995, 93) suggests that Ainetos' name derives from *ainos* (“riddle,” “story”). Contrary to that, Kron (*LIMC* I Codrus, 397) sees him as an Attic local hero of a site between Athens and Marathon, while Sourvinou-Inwood (1990, 139–40) takes *ainetos* as an adjective modifying Codrus: “Codrus the praiseworthy.”

37. Calame 1990, 188; Walker 1995, 94.

38. For the connection of the Eponymoi with the training of the ephebes, see Kron 1988, 297–98; Sourvinou-Inwood 1990, 137–38, 152–53. On the use of Theseus as a model for later politicians, see Calame 1990, 416–37; Walker 1995, 56–61, 64–66, 195–202. Cf. also Ruschenbusch 1958; Kron 1999, 75.

39. There are different versions of the story: see, e.g., Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.14.6; Callim. *Hecale* Frag. 1.2 (from papyri); Paus. 1.14.6, 3.18.13; Hyg. *Fab.* 166; Hyg. *Poet. astr.* 2.13; Ov. *Met.* 2.550.

40. Berlin, Staatliches Mus. F2537: ARV² 1268.2, 1689; *Add.* 356; CVA Berlin 3, 14, pl. 113 (A. Greifenhagen); Bérard 1974, 34; Kron 1976, 59, pls. 4.2, 5.2; Loeb 1979, 171–72; Seki 1985, 85, no. 412, pl. 35.1–3; Brulé 1987, 13–27; Reeder 1995, 258–60; *LIMC* IV Erichtheus, 923–51 (U. Kron), with bibliography and literature.

41. On Kekrops as tribal hero, see Kron 1976, 90–93, 101–3. For a depiction of Kekrops with Theseus and possibly Pandion, see the rhyton by the Triptolemos Painter in Richmond: Shapiro 1981b, 84 (J. Neils). Also see Gourmelen 2004, esp. 199–200 for the cup by Codrus Painter.

42. For Ge's rising, see below, p. 35. For the motive of *anodos* and its role in the myth of Erichthonios and Attic autochthony, see Bérard 1974, 31–38.

43. On mythological childhood, see Beaumont 1995; for the etymology of Erichthonios, see Loraux 1993, 46–47, 61–62. The tondo of a fragmentary cup in Bryn Mawr, attributed to the Circle of the Codrus Painter, preserves the profile of a male figure who distinctly resembles the head of Erichthonios.

44. *LIMC* I Aglauros, Herse, Pandrosos, 283–98 (U. Kron).

45. Reeder (1995, 251) points out that the onlookers at the scene are often depicted with expressions of surprise. It seems rather a stretch, however, to interpret the gesture of Herse as an unveiling motif, anticipating her future union with Hermes. It is probably a ritual gesture acknowledging the divine presence or some type of ritual activity; see, e.g., the Laconian relief in Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Inv. 423, dated to 480, where the woman on the left pours a libation with one hand and lifts her mantle with the other (Johansen 1994, 58, no. 14), or the relief in the Vatican, dated to 420, showing Hera, Zeus, and a worshipper (Mitropoulou 1977, no. 64, fig. 101). On a stylistic note, the profiles of Aigeus and Erichtheus are very close to the one depicted on the Acropolis fragment (cat. 7, pl. 4).

46. Scheffold 1988, 63–69, 70–73; Kearns 1989, 139–40 (Aglauros), 142 (Aigeus), 160 (Erechtheus), 161–62 (Herse), 192 (Pandrosos); *LIMC* I Aglauros, Herse, Pandrosos, 283–98 (U. Kron).

47. Herter 1936, 186–89; Kerényi 1997, 225.

48. On the Athenian kings, see Brommer 1957, 152–64.

49. Kearns 1989, 23–24, 88; Kron (1976, 59–60) maintains that the Codrus Painter did not intend to depict the Attic kings in their proper order. Cf. a kalpis in the Louvre (CA 1853) that depicts Herakles, the baby Erichthonios among snakes, Athena, and one of Kekrops' daughters; Schmidt (1968, esp. 206–12, pl. 78.2) interprets the scene as a combination of three cults: (a) that of the Aglaurides, Athena, and Erichthonios, (b) that of Ge Kourotrophos, and (c) the vivid presence of the tribe of the people of Salamis through Herakles and the implied cult of Athena Skira. Loraux (1993, 54–56, n. 97) argues for the superiority of the tribes of Erichtheus and Kekrops on a religious level, but not on a

social or political one. Stratiki (2003) points out that the myth of Erechtheus had a multilevel symbolism: it represented the autochthonous origin of the Athenians, it maintained a cult ritual with his sanctuary on the Acropolis, and it touched upon the civic life of the city, since he was worshipped as a hero in the Agora along with the other eponymous heroes.

50. *LIMC* III Eos, 747–89 (C. Wiess); Kerényi 1997, 291; Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, 17, pl. 11.6.

51. Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, 16–21; Reeder 1995, 261, no. 71, 263, no. 72.

52. The terracotta acroteria of the Royal Stoa in the Agora consisted of Eos and Kephalos, Theseus and Skiron (Paus. 1.3.1). On the Temple of the Athenians on Delos, the acroteria represented Eos and Kephalos, Boreas and Oreitheia.

53. For the most extensive treatment of Erichthonios' iconography, see Shapiro 1998. For representations of the myth on reliefs and coins, see Metzger 1976; *LIMC* IV Erechtheus, 923–51 (U. Kron); Lacroix 1947, esp. 218, pl. IX 2–3; Papaspyridi-Karusu 1954/5, esp. 79. Also note the Melian relief said to have been found in a tomb near Ilissos and dated ca. 460, Berlin, Staatliches Mus. T.C. 6281: *LIMC* IV, 931, no. 23 (U. Kron); Gourmelen 2004, 200, no. 5, fig. 12.

54. CVA Palermo, Coll. Mormino 1, 3Y, pl. III.4–6; Loeb 1979, 167, Er 1; Reeder 1995, 250–52.

55. Erichthonios was not the only one born from the earth: Hall 1997, 51–56. Burn (1989, 62–81) wonders if the proliferation of birth and rejuvenation scenes corresponds to the Athenian melancholy about the glory days of the past and the bygone youth of the city.

56. ARV² 495.1, 1656; *Para.* 380; *Add.*² 250; Loeb 1979, 168, Er 3; Reeder 1995, 255, no. 68, 254, no. 67; Oakley 1987. The scene on a fragmentary calyx krater from Olynthus attributed to a painter from the Pronomos Painter's Circle has been related by some scholars to the birth of Erichthonios witnessed by numerous deities, but none of the interpretations so far has found wide acceptance. For further discussion, see Robinson 1933, 107–9, no. 130, pl. 77 (not in order and upside down); Brommer 1972, esp. 451–55; Brommer 1978, 21–22, pl. 16.2 (in the text mistakenly referred to as pl. 17.2); Kron 1976, 260 (?K9); Hermary 1986, esp. 224–26; McPhee 1997, 249–58, fig. 11–2.

57. I would like to thank Ioulia Tzonou-Herbst, curator of the Corinth Excavations, and Professor Ian McPhee for their permission to study the Attic red-figure bell krater fragment C.37.2871.

58. Louvre 980.0820: Oakley 1982.

59. Kron 1976, 61–63, pl. 5.1; Reeder 1995, 252–66. See, e.g., the hydria from Rhodes, ca. mid-fourth century, Istanbul Arch. M. 152: *LIMC* VII Ploutos, 416–17, no. 7 (K. Clinton).

60. Basile's cult is attested in Ilissos and two demes: Eitea and Erchia: *LIMC* VIII Suppl. Basile, 539 (P. Müller). Shapiro (1986) accepts Basile as a "personification of sovereignty."

61. J. Ch. Balty (*LIMC* VII Soteria, 800, no. 2) explains her presence simply as the "sauvetage de l'enfant par Athena."

62. The pyxis, Coll. Arch. A8922, is to be published by M. Zappeiropoulou, according to O. Alexandri (1976 [1986], *ArchDelt* 31 [Chronika I], 30, pl. 404a). See also Burn 1989, 62–81.

63. *LIMC* VIII Pylios, 604, no. 1 (M. Zappeiropoulou-Mitropoulou).

64. The name Phylonoe was quite popular in the last decades of the fifth century. She is either a daughter of Leda and Tyn-dareos, immortalized by Artemis, a companion of Nausikaa, or a helper of Theseus. See *LIMC* VII Phylonoe, 408–9 (L. Kahil). It is interesting that Aison shows a preference for this name, which is found on two of his vases.

65. Müller (*LIMC* VIII Suppl. Nyseis, 907, no. 1) suggests a possible connection to the nymphs of Mt. Nysa.

66. Müller (ibid., Basileia, 539) mentions that her name is attested on a votive relief. Also see Larson 1995, 47; Shapiro 1993, 37–38.

67. Burn 1989, 67; Shapiro 1986; Shapiro 1993, 36–37 (4); Shapiro 1998, 144; *LIMC* VIII Pylios, 604, no. 1 (M. Zappeiropoulou-Mitropoulou).

68. On the function of pyxides, Schmidt (2005, 88–101) argues that in the Archaic period and early fifth century, pyxides were not exclusively associated with women and had everyday practical uses as well as their funerary function. It is in the second half of the fifth century that they become female status symbols.

69. Euripides' *Ion*, 21–26, 1427, informs us that the Erechtheis tribe used to put charms and amulets in the shape of snakes on babies in remembrance of Erichthonios. There are several depictions of the baby Erichthonios wearing one or more of these amulets.

70. The squat lekythos is attributed to the Meidias Painter: Cleveland Museum of Art 1982.142; CVA Cleveland 2, 35–37, pls. 72.1–4, 73.1–2, 74.1–2. It depicts a fully armed Athena receiving Erichthonios from the lap of Ge/Attica, who is sitting and not rising from the earth, surrounded by twelve women. Three of them watch the scene from the upper left corner, visible only from the waist up, and are identified as the Kekropids. It has been suggested that the rest of the figures represent Aphrodite and her entourage (personified virtues), and that all figures bear topographical references to sanctuaries on and around the Acropolis, such as the sanctuary of Aphrodite en Kepois: Neils (1983) recognizes Aphrodite in the company of eight personifications, often found in the work of the Meidias Painter. See also Shapiro 1998, 144; Rosenzweig 2004, 51–58.

71. With the exception of the black-figure lekythos in Palermo: see p. 197, n. 54 above.

72. The statue of Hephaistos and Athena Hephaisteia is mentioned in Cic. *Nat. D.* 1.83. The argument of Papaspyridi-Karusu 1954/5 was challenged by Kron (1976, 63–64). See also the discussion of Harrison's (1977) reconstruction in chapter 13 below, p. 77.

73. Metzger 1976, 298–302.

74. See, e.g., the horos stones of the sanctuaries of Ion and of the Athenian heroes, and others from the island of Samos: Barron 1964, 35–48, pls. III–IV. On funerary orations and plays exalting Athenian autochthony and consequently Athenian *andreia*, see Loraux 1993, 3, 37, n. 2; 2000, 13, 28–30.

75. Rosivach (1987, esp. 297) examines the value of epithets meaning "earth-born," such as *gēgenēs*, *autochthōn*. On the same issue, see also Cochet 1976. Both the myth of Erichthonios and the sacrifice of the daughters of Kekrops have been considered a parallel to the sacrifice of the daughters of Leos, who offered their lives in order to put an end to the plague: Larson 1995, 15.

76. Shapiro 1998. On similar grounds, Lochin (2000) stresses the civic rather than the mythological aspect of Athena and Kekrops.

77. Beaumont 2003, esp. 73.

78. Kron 1976, 64–67; Rosivach 1987, 304–5. On problems in the transmission of iconography from Athens to other centers, see Mugione 2000, 123–52, esp. 126–27 on the Etruscan interest in vases decorated with Athenian myths, such as the Erichthonios cup by the Codrus Painter. For a discussion of the Etruscan view of Attic vase painting, see chapter 12 in this volume.

79. LIMC III Eos, 747–89 (C. Weiss); Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979, 16–21.

80. LIMC IV Suppl. Erechtheus, 923–51, esp. 928–35 (U. Kron); vase numbers 13 and 17 on her list should be disassociated, as the former probably represents the birth of Athena, not Erichthonios, while the subject of the latter is highly debated.

81. See above pp. 34–35.

82. LIMC IV Suppl. Erechtheus, 931, no. 23 (U. Kron).

83. LIMC III Eos, 747–89, esp. 759–71 (C. Weiss).

84. LIMC III Eos/Thesan, 789–97 (R. Bloch).

85. See p. 69 in this volume.

86. On cycle cups, see below in this chapter.

87. First published by Smith 1881; see Kardara 1951; Seki 1985, 86, no. 414; Seki 1988, 585–86; Taylor 1991, esp. 53, for the initial nickname of the cup. Palmettes crown a small triangle under the handles, while there are no lyre-shaped palmettes flanking the central floral motif, which is one of the signature patterns of the Codrus Painter.

88. Von den Hoff 2002, 335: “Eindruck ‘rundplastischer’ Darstellungen.”

89. The wrestling hold is known in the sources as *parathesis*, a term used in contrast to *systasis*. In the first case an attempt is made to attack the opponent from the side, while in the second the athletes face each other and prepare to take hold. For more, see Gardiner 1905, 263–93, esp. 264–65. The result—almost a dancing pose for the wrestlers—is not an innovation of the Codrus Painter; see, e.g., the tondo of the cup by the Kleophrades Painter in Athens: Schefold 1989, 71, fig. 53.

90. Medea is absent from this cup. For her role in the myth, see Shefton 1956.

91. For the topographical significance of Theseus’ route from Troezen to Athens and the clearing of the peripheries of Attica (Megara, Eleusina, Isthmus), see Mills 1997, 19. For a brief discussion of the literary sources regarding Theseus’ journey to Athens, see Servadei 2005, 29–32.

92. On representations of Phaia, see Pfisterer-Haas 1989, 21–23 (esp. 22 for the Theseus cup by the Codrus Painter), 114.

93. For a description of the cup with an overview of the history of the motifs and their influences, see Schefold 1988, 247–51, fig. 301. For its connection with Bacchylides’ ode 18 and illustrations of the deeds of Theseus as a *kyklos*, see Shapiro 1994, 109–17.

94. The exception to the rule comes with two fragmentary volute kraters in the J. Paul Getty Museum: Greifenhagen 1972, pls. 14–25; *GettyMusJ* 13 (1985), 170, no. 24. For an iconographic comparison of Herakles and the bull and Theseus and the bull, see Shefton 1962, esp. 344–50.

95. On cycle decoration, see Taylor 1991, 42–61. Neils (1987, 117, 135, no. 124, figs. 79–81) mentions both cups but also the

rare larger vases such as the calyx krater by the Dinos Painter. Ralph von den Hoff (2002) highlights the qualities of the polis hero and the importance of his presence in every activity, including symposia. See also Froning 1992; Olmos 1992, 9–35; on Theseus’ deeds, see graphs by Bažant 1990.

96. Neils 1987, 129–41, and 117–21, no. 94, fig. 63 for the Pen-thesilea cup, which dates to ca. 460/450: Ferrara, M. Naz., Inv. 44885; ARV² 882.35, 1673; Alfieri and Arias 1958, 35–39, figs. 28–29. The two youths in the tondo are usually identified as Dioskouroi or Peirithous and Theseus, but I wonder if it is better to recognize two anonymous Athenian ephebes approaching an altar, possibly before they set off for a mission. This way the interior zone and the scenes on the exterior depicting the deeds of Theseus can be interpreted as illustrations of the heroic stories that youths were brought up with and followed as inspiring models.

97. Probably from Vulci: Harrow on the Hill School Coll. 52; ARV¹ 660; Neils 1987, 132, no. 112.

98. Madrid, Museo Arq. Di 11265: ARV² 1174.1, 1685; Dugas 1930, 61–65; Dugas and Flacelière 1958, 63, figs. 9–10; Olmos 1992. The same figure-type was used by Aison for another cup housed in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford (Inv. 1929.15), which depicts a youth holding two spears who paces left while looking right: CVA Ashmolean Museum 2, 111, pl. 57.38; ARV² 1174.3. I would like to thank M. Vickers for his permission to examine the fragment.

99. See also a cup in Bern (private coll.) originally attributed to the Circle of the Codrus Painter by Blatter (1975b). The interior frieze depicts the deeds against Sinis and the bull, and the exterior has the confrontation with Skiron: Oakley 1990, 90, no. 148, pls. 123–24, p. 93, N7 (ter) Bolligen; Taylor 1991, pl. 13.

100. Even though the Harrow cup is stylistically closer to the cup by the Codrus Painter, the painter who seems to have actually developed a teacher-pupil relationship with that painter is Aison: Hudeczech 1972–75. For a cycle cup with Theseus and the Marathon bull in the tondo, see Lezzi-Hafter 1988, pl. 36, nos. 38–39; 1992, 67–69.

101. ARV² 908.14; the first cup dates to ca. 450–440 and is decorated in the interior by the Painter of Bologna 417 and on the exterior by the Painter of London E777: ARV² 940.8. It depicts Eos and Kephalos surrounded by hunters in the inner frieze and two women in the tondo, while the exterior shows women seated among standing youths: Moore 1997, 323, no. 1442, pl. 135.

102. Moore (1997, 328, no. 1472, pl. 138) reports that Beazley attributed the cup orally to the Calliope Painter and suggested a date of ca. 430–420 (possibly later). On a relationship between the Codrus Painter and the Calliope Painter, see section 5.3, p. 29 in this volume.

103. It dates to 440–430: CVA Verona 1 (M. del Teatro Romano), III, I, pl. 2; Oakley 1990, 35, 90, no. 148, pls. 123–24.

104. Cf. the Codrus Painter’s Themis cup (cat. 13, pl. 8). The theory that Themis came with Theseus from Troezen is supported by the reference in Paus. 2.31.5, according to which Pittheus founded an altar to Themides. Cf. Shapiro 1993, 222 (147).

105. Neils (1987, 130–32, no. 111, 177) argues that since “there is no known prototype from sculpture or wall-painting,” it could have been “the invention of an Athenian vase-painter.” See also Servadei 2005, 48–52.

106. E.g., Brommer 1982a, 7, 15, 19, 23, 28, 37, 44, 67, pl. 13, plus a separate chapter for each deed; Burn 1990, 25–30.
107. Neils 1987, 130–31; *LIMC* V Herakles, 85–100 (V. Smallwood); Shefton 1962, esp. 344–50; Servadei 2005, 51, fig. 19, 111.
108. For the steps as another symbol of the labyrinth, see Kossatz-Deissmann 1992. On the symbolic character of the Minotaur, see Kauffmann-Samaras 1992, who suggests that the name of Asterion-Minotaur and its connection with the night must have passed into the iconography through the peculiar pattern of the Minotaur's body.
109. For a comparison of the pose of the triumphal Theseus of Aison and the heroic but less impressive synthesis of the Codrus Painter, see von den Hoff 2001.
110. Olmos 1992, 25–28.
111. Kardara (1951, 295–300) attempts a comparative study of the representation of each of the deeds separately on various vases of the predecessors and the “school” of the Codrus Painter. She also discusses the possibility of the influence of a wall painting on the vases with depictions of the Theseus cycle.
112. On the pose, see De Cesare 1997, 42–55. On vase paintings with the myth of Cassandra, see Mangold 2000.
113. For the symbolism of Theseus' depiction in the Tyrannicides' poses, see Taylor 1991, 52–60; De Cesare 1997, 65–66. For example, the Harmodios motif is echoed in Theseus holding the axe and the lekane, while the Aristogeiton pose is reflected in the scenes where he wrestles with Kerkyon and faces the sow and the Minotaur, with a slight variation of the head (tilted down and to the left instead of straight up). For the sculpture of the Codrus Painter's and Aison's period, see, e.g., Simon 1992, 119–29.
114. For other vase paintings inspired by the same originals, see Brommer 1982a, pls. 12, 14. For Theseus' statues, see Brommer 1982b, 145–52. Also see T. Carpenter, “Harmodios and Apollo in Fifth-Century Athens: What's in a Pose?” in *Athenian Potters and Painters—The Conference Proceedings*, ed. J. Oakley, W. D. E. Coulson, and O. Palagia (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1997), 171–79.
115. A Roman group made of Pentelic marble consisting of a torso of the Minotaur and that of a youth identified as Theseus is thought to copy the Myronian original. It was found in the area of Plaka (near the church of St. Dimitrios Katephori) and was probably part of a fountain decoration: Athens, Nat. M., Inv. 1664, 1664a; Kaltsas 2001, 96, no. 169; *LIMC* VI Minotauros, 579, no. 66 (S. Woodford). For a reconstruction, see Schefold 1988, 256, fig. 307.
116. Mills 1997, 97–103.
117. Neils 1987, 126–28, 140–41.
118. Brommer 1981. The rest of Theseus' deeds are less often illustrated there.
119. *LIMC* VII These, 951–55 (C. Weber-Lehmann).
120. Van der Meer 1977/8, esp. 85.
121. The Harrow cup was found in Nola and the Ferrara cup in Spina (Taylor 1991, 60).
122. Of the same opinion is Hannestad 1988, 113–30, esp. 124.
123. For the technical skills required to draw a cup in this manner and a thorough examination of the cup, often characterized as a “trick cup,” see Seki 1988, 585–90.
124. On Theseus in Etruscan mythology, see De Grummond 2006, 12–13.
125. Dugas 1930, 56–60, fig. 7; Furtwängler, Hauser, and Reichhold 1932, 110–13, pl. 140; Kron 1976, 127–28, pl. 15, 2; Seki 1985, 85, no. 415, pl. 34, 1–3.
126. On the inscription of Aigeus see Gerhard 1858, 102–4, pl. CCCXXXVIII, who mentions that the name of Aigeus appeared clearly on the cup after it was cleaned in 1854. On the sources treating the visit of Aigeus to Delphi and his journey to Troezen afterward, see Gerhard 1846, 1–14; Servadei 2005, 21–22; and also *LIMC* I Aigeus, 359 (U. Kron). On the tripod as the tomb of Apollo, see Lambrinoudakis 2000, 23–33; and on the Delphic Oracle and Athens, see Bowden 2005.
127. *LIMC* VIII Suppl. Themis, 1199 (P. Karanastassi). On Delphic cults, see Amandry 2000.
128. Lissarrague 2000, esp. 59–61, fig. 3; on Themis and her role in Delphi and in Athens, see Harrison 1914, 385–87; Vos 1961; Corsano 1988, 95, 109; Shapiro 1993, 219–22; Rudhardt 1999, esp. 47; Stafford 2000, 45–56.
129. Balensiefen 1990, 183–84. For a possible depiction of divination by means of water or reflection on a Greek vase, see Paul-Zinserling 1994, 93–97, pl. 47.2. On divination at Delphi, see Amandry 1950; Maurizio 1995. On divination in general, see Bouché-Leclercq 2003, 257, n. 26; Johnston and Struck 2005.
130. Shapiro 1993, 221–23 (*Eur. Med.* 676, 678); see also Harrison 1914, 480–84.
131. Shapiro 1993, 216–23.
132. Shapiro (*ibid.*, 221–22) argues that Themis was added to the order of prophetesses based on the frequent use of the divine law (*themistes*).
133. Furtwängler, Hauser, and Reichhold 1932, 110.
134. For the apotropaic effect of the juxtaposition of the figures, see Seki 1985, 112.
135. Schefold 1988, 234, figs. 282–83; 1989, 47–49.
136. In Furtwängler, Hauser, and Reichhold 1932, 111–13, he compares the Themis cup to a pelike from Bengasi and an Apulian amphora (112, figs. 54–55). Kleiner (1972) presents the basic elements of the compositions found in representations of the hunt in the sixth and fifth centuries and later.
137. A possible suggestion would be paintings decorating the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi.
138. F. Chamoux, *Hellenistic Civilization* (Maiden: Blackwell, 2002), 227, pl. 6.
139. Rawlings 2002, 243–45. On the hunt, see Barringer 2001, esp. for the relation of hunting to battle (15–32), the Kalydonian boar hunt (147–61), and the funerary connotations of the hunting motif in Greece and beyond (174–202). On prophets and prophecy in Etruria, see Bonfante and Swaddling 2006, 49–54; De Grummond and Simon 2006, 27–44.
140. Among the sources reporting on Athenian autochthony, see Thuc. 2.36; Isoc. *Paneg.* 24; funerary orations, e.g., Pl. *Menex.* 237a–c; and plays, e.g., Eur. *Ion*, 260–275, 585–595, 668–675, 999–1040. For the difference between *gēgenēs* and *autochthōn*, see Bérard 1974, 35; Rosivach 1987, 294–306; Shapiro 1998.
141. Basel, Antikenmuseum, Samml. Ludwig BS432: *Add.*² 357; *Para.* 472 (Cahn); Berger 1968, 63, 125; CVA Basel 2, 49, pls. 30; 31, 1–3; 37, 4, 8; 40, 1 (V. Slehoferova). For the history of this cup and its attribution to the Codrus Painter, see Kron 1988, 291, n. 1; Servadei 2005, 183–84, fig. 80.

142. *LIMC* VII Theseus, 947, no. 303 (J. Neils); Berger 1968, 129–31. The stance and the pilos of Theseus recall the funerary relief of Sosias and Kephisodoros in Berlin dated to 410 (Maischberger and Heilmeyer 2002, 261–62, no. 160), as well as the votive relief of Sosippos in the Louvre, from the early fourth century (*LIMC* VII Theseus, 949, no. 322).

143. *LIMC* II Argeia, 587, 589, no. 6 (P. Linant de Bellefonds); Schefold 1989, 86. Stylistically speaking, the apoxygma of Argeia's peplos is close to Medea's on the Codrus cup (cat. 1, pl. 1c), and that of several women on the Cassandra cup (cat. 19, pl. 16c). Argeia's dress is comparable to a marble statuette of a goddess from Rhamnous, ca. 460 (Athens, Nat. M., Inv. 1848: Kaltsas 2001, 91, no. 158), and the more elaborate version on the famous stele of Hegeso, dated 410 (Athens, Nat. M., Inv. 3624: Kaltsas 2001, 156, no. 309).

144. *LIMC* III Eriboia, 819–21; Herter 1938, 270–71.

145. It is not clear whether she holds a baby or simply a folded cloth, as on, e.g., a fourth-century relief from Pallene, now in the Marathon Museum, Inv. no. BE 32: Petrakos 1995, 152–53, fig. 87.

146. Cf. the pelike by the Nausicaa Painter with Rhea handing to Kronos a rock disguised as a baby: New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 06.1021.144: ARV² 1107, 10; *Add.*² 330; Oakley and Neils 2003, 86, cat. 4. For the custom of introducing a newborn in the house into the father's *genos* and later to his *phratry*, see Golden 2003. Similar scenes of a mother presenting *anagnorismata* to her son take place in various tragedies: e.g., Eur. *Ion*, 1410–1440.

147. No inscription is visible but there is enough space for a five-lettered name.

148. Berger 1968, 63, 125–29; Kerényi 1997, 222, 276. It might also be a kalos inscription, since there is space for a second “line,” now lost. Kalos inscriptions are rare in the work of the Codrus Painter (see Appendix). It might also be a misspelling of the name Manoitos, son of Aigina and Aktor, brother of Aiakos, who was Telamon's father. Schefold (1989, 88) points out the difficulty of restoring the name, but he is right in suggesting that it probably has some topographic significance.

149. *LIMC* I Alkmaion, 546, 550, no. 18 (I. Krauskopf). Berger (1968, 132–36) discusses a possible connection to the Alkmaionids. See also Pind. *Nem.* 9.16–26; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.80. Also cf. the head of Alkmaion to the male head on the Bryn Mawr fragment (cat. 74) and the fragment in Würzburg (cat. 52).

150. Compare Apollo to the draped male carrying a laurel branch on the exterior of the Brauron cup (cat. 20, pl. 11b).

151. *LIMC* VIII Suppl. Neanias I, 869, no. 1, 870, nos. 3, 4 (D. Tsiafakis); Kron 1988, 294.

152. *LIMC* VII Thersandros II, 920–21, no. 5 (Gr. Berger-Doer); *RE* V{SUB}A{XSUB} s.v. Thersandros, 2452–54.

153. *LIMC* III Demonassa, 374–75 (C. Weiss); Schefold (1989, 88) suggests Eriphyle. See also Berger 1968, 131–36 (suggesting Demonassa); Kron 1988, 293; *LIMC* VI Manto, 354, 355, no. 3 (I. Krauskopf); CVA Basel 2, 48–49. This dexiosis motif can be interpreted as a farewell gesture, since the same handshake is commonly represented in funerary reliefs, or as a symbol of an agreement or deal. For the significance of the handshake and its multiple associations in art, see Davies 1985.

154. Schefold 1989, 88.

155. *TrGF* vol. 3: 51, 111.

156. Kron (1988, 299, n. 49, 303) questioned the identification of Argeia and proposed instead the name of Aigle, another conquest of Theseus, in her interpretation of the scene: instead of ΑΡΓΕΙΑ, she reads —ΟΙΑ: i.e., ΑΓΛΑΙΑ, or Aigle, daughter of Panopeus. She is right to notice that in the *Suppliants* of Euripides, Argeia is a gray-haired woman who barely resembles the “proud” figure of the tondo. Let us not forget, however, that vase-painters rarely represented aged figures in Classical art. The figure-type of Argeia appears to be the predecessor of the female type with long back-mantle and peplos that became really popular in the late fifth century; see Roccas 2000, which describes the matronly character of the mantle pinned on the shoulders of several deities. On the relation of Greek vases and theater, see Taplin 2007; on representations of elderly women, see Pfisterer-Haas 1989.

157. Eur. *Suppl.* 634–650; Plut. *Thes.* 29.4–5; Paus. 1.39.2.

158. Berger 1968, 129–31. The manuscripts preserve both readings, *Argeiai* and *Argeioi*, for the name of the drama. It was probably the first of a tetralogy, with *Eleusinians*, *Epigonoï*, and a satyr play (Radt, *TrGF* vol. 3: 116). See also Walker 1995, 171–74, and Tiverios 1981 on the plays of Euripides and the myths of Argos. For the lost plays of Aeschylus, see Mette 1963.

159. E.g., the painter Onasias is reported to have represented the first war of the Seven against Thebes in the temple of Athena Areia at Plataia (Paus. 9.4.1–2), although no reference for the second generation's campaign survives.

160. The events of the Delion battle must have been the inspiration for Euripides' *Suppliants*, and therefore the date of the play is estimated to have been between 424 (after November) and 416: Mills 1997, 87–91.

161. In Mills's words (1997, 59): “Athens' military might is used in the service of civilization.”

162. The only source that identifies Neanias as the brother of Oinoë is Paus. 1.33.3–8. Most evidence is based on epigraphical material, all dated in the fourth century. See D. Tsiafakis, *LIMC* VIII Suppl. Neanias I, 869, no. 1, 870, nos. 3, 4, for the presence of Neanias on the Base of Nemesis at Rhamnous and for a statuette dated ca. 420 from the same region. Kron (1988, 294–301) sees Neanias as a hero, not a personification, and relates the origin of his name to the names of Kore and Nymphs, while Thersandros and Apollo are viewed as local Attic heroes even though it is hard to find any Attic roots for Thersandros, an important figure in Theban mythology. She also (302–4) attempts to read the inscription as “Titenios”—i.e., a misspelling of Titanios, “the one who comes from the earth of Titanis,” that is, Marathon, according to Philochorus (*FGrH* 328.74). However, the ending ΙΟΣ indicates an adjective that usually describes a quality or an origin of the noun: e.g., Erichthonios (“of the Earth”), Apollo Pythios, etc. See also Kearns 1989, 203.

163. Alternatively, if M.. is separated from ΤΕΝΙΟΣ, it could be restored as a misspelling of Teneros, son of Apollo and prophet at Thebes, who was probably worshipped at a sanctuary near that of Apollo Ptoios; see Farnell 1921, 408, no. 52, on Lykophron (Schol.) 1211. For a recent study of Teneros based on a fragment of Pindar, see Olivieri 2004.

164. The first wife of Telamon was Glauke, daughter of the

king of Salamis, Kynchreus: *LIMC* III Eriboia, 819–20 (Gr. Berger-Doer); Berger 1968, 125–29. The battle for control over Aegina lasted many years, from Kleomenes' hostage-taking in 494 until 479, when Aegina, Corinth, and Argos formed a common front against the Athenians. An oracle predicted another battle for 458, although we have no evidence of its occurrence. Kron (1988, 298) and Calame (1990, 353) report that according to the Megarian tradition, Telamon is the grandson of Skiron, the enemy of Theseus, who became king of Salamis after Kynchreus died without heirs. The half-human, half-serpent king was born from the Attic earth like another Kekrops, which facilitated the Athenian appropriation of the Homeric hero Aias in order to propagandize their control of Salamis. On his cult on Salamis and the special interest in the hero's iconography by Exekias, see Moore 1980.

165. Kron 1988, 303. On the symbolism of Aias as both an Attic hero and a particular ancestor of the Philaids, see Shapiro 1981a.

166. *LIMC* III Eriboia, 820–21 (Gr. Berger-Doer); Kron 1988, 301–2; Shapiro 1996. It is interesting to note that at least three vases depicting Eriboia were found in Etruria.

167. *LIMC* III Eriboia, 820–21; Kerényi 1997, 222, 276. For the role of local heroes in the promotion of the city-state, see Stratiki 2003. Kynchreus son of Poseidon renamed the island of Pityoussa after the death of his wife, Salamis. He is said to have joined the Athenians, along with Theseus and Echelos, at Marathon (Strabo 9.393). For Aias and Kynchreus, see Hdt. 8.121; Paus. 1.36.2.

168. According to Schefold 1989, 86, the painter was trying to set Salamis as an example to Thebes during a turbulent period for relations between the cities. The same message is even more overtly represented on the Lewis Painter skyphos of 460, with personifications of Athens, Thebes, and Salamis and a priestess of Athena: *LIMC* VII Salamis, 652, no. 1 (E. Manakidou).

169. For example, Aeschylus' *Eleusinioi* and Euripides' *Herakleidai* from the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, and the latter's *Suppliants* from the early years (424/421). For the political plays of Euripides, see Zuntz 1955, 55–63, and see Zeitlin 1996, 136–37, on Peitho and her impact on an Athenian audience, and the contrast between Thebes and Athens in Eur. *Ion* 298, 337.

170. Paus. 10.10.1–4 describes the statue group dedicated by the Athenians in Delphi, which honors gods, heroes, and Miltiades after the battle of Marathon, and the two dedications of Argos: one group representing the first generation of the Seven against Thebes and another with statues of their children; the latter dates to the beginning of the fifth century. Pind. *Pyth.* 8 is dated to 446. See also Berger 1968, 132, regarding Epic Cycle narratives like the *Epigonoí*, the *Alkmaionis*, and several other fragments. Schefold (1989, 87) speaks of lost plays of Aeschylus and Sophocles that dealt with the myth of the Seven and the *Epigonoí*.

CHAPTER 7. DIVINE ASSEMBLIES

1. London, British Museum E82 (1847.9–9.6): ARV² 1269.3; *Add.*² 356; Carpenter 1995. Since the vase has been published in detail elsewhere (Avramidou 2006), the following discussion merely summarizes the earlier argument.

2. Peschlow-Bindokat (1972, esp. 100–101) places the exte-

rior scenes on Olympus. Arafat (1990, 92–99) suggests two different settings for each exterior side: one each for Zeus and Poseidon, along with their wives, and another pair of settings for the other two divine couples. However, when discussing other scenes of divine libations that include the depiction of a column, he interprets it as a symbol of a temple or of Olympus. On klinai and their function and origin, see Boardman 1990.

3. On wreaths and their role in symposia and ritual, see Tolles 1943, 28–29; Blech 1982, 63–74; Heilmeyer 2003; Kunze-Götte 2006.

4. Ridgway 1967, 307–8. Cf. the wall painting from the Tomb of Hunting and Fishing in Tarquinia, dated 540–530, which depicts a servant getting perfume out of an alabastron with a pin: Steingraber 1986, 293, no. 50, pl. 41. Also see Ath. *Deipn.* 2.46a–b, 3.101b–c.

5. Simon (1953, 60) interprets the scene as a *hieros gamos*. For the unveiling of Hera and its allusion to a private setting, see Arafat 1990, 99.

6. Carpenter 1995, 145. For a representation of a woman holding a similar pyxis, see the oinochoe by the Shuvalov Painter dated ca. 435–430: ARV² 1207.28; Lezzi-Hafter 1976, no. S13, pl. 87a.

7. *LIMC* VI Komos, 94, 96, no. 11 (A. Kossatz-Deissmann); on infibulation, see Carpenter 1995, 147–48. See also Ath. *Deipn.* 10.424 on wine-pourers (*oinochooi*) from noble families. For a discussion of Dionysos and Ariadne, see Corredoira 2005, 68–73. The same name appears on the cup in Würzburg by the Codrus Painter (cat. 53, pl. 21); see pp. 52–53 in this volume.

8. *LIMC* IV Hades, esp. 375, no. 44 (S. Chr. Dahlinger), for the Codrus Painter's cup. On Plouton-Hades, see Schauenburg 1953; Bemann 1994, 20–28. The first literary mention of the name Plouton is found in Sophocles' *Antigone* 1200. On the myrtle wreath, see Mylonas 1960, esp. 107–9. For more representations of Plouton and Persephone performing a libation, see Simon 1953, 67–78. On Persephone's youth, cf. *Hom. Hymn Dem.* 343.

9. For the origins of reclining at the symposion, see Dentzer 1971; 1982, 51–70. For assemblies of gods, see Knell 1965; Laurens and Lissarrague 1990.

10. Carpenter 1995, 159, fig. 9.

11. *Ibid.*, 163. On the impropriety of gods reclining on a kline, see also Boardman 1990. For the use of wreaths at banquets, weddings, and funerary rituals, see respectively Blech 1982, 63–74, 75–81, 81–108.

12. Simon 1998b, 230–32, figs. 256–58.

13. For libation scenes with Zeus, see Arafat 1990, 89–103. For the introduction of Herakles and divine libations, see Kunisch 1993, 11. For a symposion of Poseidon and Apollo, see Blatter 1975a, 5. On Dionysos and Ariadne on a couch, see Carpenter 1995, 154–60; for an example close to the Divine Banquet cup from the middle of the fourth century, cf. the red-figure chous from the Kerameikos: Knigge 1978, 56–57, fig. 23.

14. Bochum, Ruhr University, Kunstsammlungen S258: ARV² 484.18; *Add.*² 248; Bemann 1994, 176, figs. 5–7.

15. On the psykter-krater by the Troilos Painter in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 1986.11.12, see Wolf 1993, 28–29, figs. 54–55 and n. 94. Also see Carpenter 1995, 160–61; 1997, pl. 27b. For the full publication, see Padgett 2002, pls. 67–70a–b.

16. See Jameson 1994.

17. E.g., for the Dioskouroi as guests, see a black-figure olpe in a private collection in Hamburg (*LIMC* III Dioskouroi, 112, pl. 465); a black-figure on white ground lekythos from Camiros housed in the British Museum, B633: RA 1901 (2), 40, fig. 1; the red-figure hydria by the Christie Painter in the Vlastos Collection, Athens 213622: ARV² 1049.53; and the hydria by the Kadmos Painter from Thrace: ARV² 1187.36, 1686; *LIMC* IV Helene, 70, pl. 303.

18. The same idea is found, among other sources, in Plutarch's *Banquet of Seven Sages* (11.154c): "conversation like wine . . . should be equally shared among all and belong to them in common."

19. According to a different tradition, Poseidon abducted Amphitrite on the island of Naxos (Eust. *Od.* III 91, 1458.40), thus bringing that couple closer to the Dionysos–Ariadne and Plouton–Persephone stories (*RE* Poseidon 1963–67).

20. In the Boeotian tradition Aphrodite and Ares were married and Harmonia was their daughter, but Homer clearly presents them as lovers: *LIMC* II Aphrodite, 2, 123–25.

21. For a discussion of the iconography of Dionysos and Ariadne as reclined banqueters and the contribution of the Codrus Painter, see Carpenter 1995, 154–60. Their union recalls the custom in which the closest male relative married the widow of a deceased family member; even though this was a common practice, it was not the standard marriage procedure.

22. It is common for Dionysos to perform the libation himself: Lissarrague 1995, 132, n. 22, 134, n. 34. For the meaning of libation, the instruments used, and the way it is performed, see Lissarrague 1985.

23. Laurens (1985) and Veyne (1990) argue against Simon (1953, 7–9). Himmelmann (1998, 143–47) agrees that we have a Totenmahl scene on the Divine Banquet cup, but he also points out the timeless character and nonnarrative qualities of divine assemblies of this type ("Daseinsbilder"), which provide a new visual code for divine epiphanies. Machaira (2000) explains the divine libations as a reminder of the chthonic origin of the gods, based on the examination of votive reliefs.

24. Lissarrague 1995, 139–41, 144.

25. Metzger (1944/5, esp. 314–23) discusses the different aspects of Dionysos as a god of vegetation, of the Underworld, and of the Eleusinian cult. He also mentions instances in literary sources that support the confusion of Dionysos and Hades, noting that this notion of an Infernal Dionysos existed already not only in the Orphic Magna Graecia, but also in Athens during the middle of the fifth century.

26. On Zeus, see *RE* Pluton 993, 997, 1001, and a marble votive relief of Zeus Epitoleios, rendered in the iconography of Plouton: *LIMC* VIII Zeus, 341, no. 210 (I. Leventi). For the chthonic aspect of Ares, see Harrison 1891; *RE* Pluton 1003. On Poseidon and Hades, see *RE* Pluton, 990–1027, esp. 1001–3 for the syncretisms; *RE* Poseidon, 509; also note that one of the entrances to Hades was thought to be near the sanctuary of Poseidon at Hippeios Kolonos (Paus. 1.30.4; Soph. *OC* 1589). On Dionysos–Hades, see *RE* Pluton, 993, 996, 1002–3; *LIMC* III Dionysos, 417–18.

27. *LIMC* III Dionysos/Fufluns, 531–40 (M. Cristofani), with bibliography; Steiner 2003, 270–80. On Fufluns/Dionysos and Infernal Etruscan deities in relation to Attic vase painting, see Isler-

Kerényi 2003, 43–44. Also see p. 70 in this volume. Cf. D. Paleothodoros, "Dionysiac Imagery on Attic Red-figured Vases Found in Italy," in Schmaltz and Söldner 2003, 220–22, which links the abundance of Dionysiac scenes with the significant role of Dionysos/Fufluns.

28. Gantz 1971, esp. 13–22; Bonfante 1986, fig. IV 55. I acknowledge the early date of the plaque and the fact that the Murlo gods are sitting and not reclining in pairs as on the Codrus Painter cup, but I believe that it is worth bringing it into the discussion.

29. See, e.g., the Satrap Sarcophagus (A. Pasinli, *Istanbul Archaeological Museum Guide* [Istanbul: Turizm Yayinlari, 2001], 78–79, fig. 86; Hanfmann 1974, 289–302), as well as an early example from Cyprus (Tatton-Brown 2000, 339, fig. 2).

30. Dentzer 1971, 217–40; 1982, 21–50, 51–70, 301–64, 365–428.

31. E.g., the Totenmahl relief from the Asklepieion in Piraeus, ca. 400: Kaltsas 2001, 136, no. 261.

32. Thönges-Stringaris 1965, 62; Dentzer 1982, 453–558.

33. The deceased was thought to participate in sympotic events during the Genesia and Anthesteria also: Murray 1988, 251.

34. To cite only two excerpts gathered by Murray (*ibid.*, 239–57): "Then he will lie in the deep-rooted earth / and share no more in the symposion, the lyre / and the sweet cry of the flutes" (240); and from the *Alkmaionis*, an anonymous epic poem written before Thucydides: "he laid down the corpses . . . and set before them a rich feast and cups as well, and placed crowns on their heads" (252–55). For more sources regarding the Orient and the Greeks, see Dentzer 1971, 226–27, 244–45. For the banquet motif in art, see Dentzer 1982, 71–154; for drinking, feasting, and death, see Thönges-Stringaris 1965, 62–68.

35. For a comparison of the one-man symposion in Etruria and the East, see Dentzer 1971, 231. Rathje (1994, 95) points out that the Phoenicians transported ideas and merchandise to Etruria from the East. For a recent treatment of the "single-symposiasts," see Fehr 2003.

36. Thönges-Stringaris 1965, 18; Dentzer 1971, 253–58; Dentzer 1982, 121–22. For the relationship between vase painting, sculpture, and monumental painting, see de Cesare 1997.

37. Dentzer 1982, 336–37, fig. 475. Also cf. Dionysos and Tragoedia on a kline accompanied by actors on the votive relief from Piraeus, ca. 420–400, inscriptions added later: Athens, Nat. M., Inv. 1500; Kaltsas 2001, 138, no. 264. According to Mitropoulou 1977, 117–20, Attic votive banquet reliefs appear around 450, but they are quite rare.

38. Berger 1996, 135–36, 140 (E V–VI). Note that neither Amphitrite, Ariadne, Plouton, nor Ganymede was depicted on the Parthenon frieze, nor was Persephone, whose absence is thought to be the cause of Demeter's grief: Simon 1982a, 139.

39. The arrangement of the divine couples on the circular area of the cup may also be used as an argument for the idea that the gods on the frieze actually sit in a circle: Neils 1999, 6–20; 2001, 64, fig. 49.

40. Avramidou 2006.

41. For banquet scenes and a good summary of the subject, see Jannot 1984, esp. 420–42. See also the plaques from Poggio Civitate (Murlo) dated around the second quarter of the sixth century: Small 1971. Given the scarcity of similar illustrations of di-

vine banquets in Attic art, one cannot help wondering whether the kylix by the Codrus Painter was specifically targeted to the Etruscan market.

42. These representations are often thought to have been intended to cast doubt on death itself and lighten the heavy atmosphere: de Marinis 1961, 113–17, 119–23; Bonfante 1986, 232–75. Shapiro (2000, 330–36) discusses Attic and Etruscan banquet and funerary customs and argues that illustrations of banquets on the ground are an Athenian adaptation to the customs of an Etruscan clientele. Reusser (2002, 23–30) brings forth important facts, such as how little is known about the agora centers in Etruria. On the question of how much of Athenian iconography was understood by the Etruscans, the demand for Attic vases, and the ability of the Etruscans to adjust the Greek myths to their own beliefs and customs, see Osborne 2001, esp. 288. On the value of the Greek sympotic pottery found in Etruscan tombs, see Gill and Vickers 1990, esp. the conclusion, 29–30; Vickers and Gill 1994; Gill and Vickers 1995. For a counterargument, see Spivey 1991, 134–35. Lewis (2003) examines different iconographic case studies, including sympotic scenes, to demonstrate the need to examine the Attic vases primarily within their Etruscan context and less in relation to social and/or political changes in Athens.

43. In Brussels, *Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*: Bonfante 1986, 244, fig. viii (17).

44. For example, see the women depicted on the banquet frieze at Poggio Civitate (Haynes 2000, 122–26), the sarcophagus of the married couple from Cerveteri (*ibid.*, 214–17), and the numerous tomb paintings representing banquets.

45. See p. 70 in this volume. Also see Farnell 1921, 373–402, and the passage from Plato's *Republic* (400C) where the Orphics are said to persuade individuals and communities that they can provide purgation of the souls of the deceased, as well as those of the living, by means of sacrifice and feasts.

46. See, e.g., Robertson 1991, esp. 92–93. Cf. the early Etruscan example of a divine gathering cited above, from Poggio Civitate (Murlo): see Gantz 1971.

47. Garland 2001, 36–41, 146. Since this is a later source (second century CE), the information obtained from Artemidoros needs to be treated with caution.

48. LSJ (1968) s.v. *kedeiakos*, *kedeia*, citing Xen. *Mem.* 2.6.36; Polyb. 1.9.2; Arist. *Pol.* 1.262a.11, 1.280b.36.

49. Kahil (1963, esp. 17, pl. 10.2–4 [A34], and 27) mentions that the vases she examines come either from around the temple or from the so-called Heroön of Iphigeneia. The same drapery worn on the Brauron cup also decorates the peplos of a woman in the tondo of a stemless cup in Naples (cat. 87, pl. 29b), while the dress of the woman on an ivory fragment in the Hermitage (Scheffold 1989, 108, fig. 87) recalls the Artemis of the Brauron cup. Also cf. the fragment in Enserune (cat. 61, pl. 13) and the fragment in Florence, M. Naz. PD344 (ARV² 1178), depicting part of a female figure dressed in a chiton with the same zigzag pattern, attributed by Beazley to a painter who “Recalls Aison.” Its style is very close to that of the Codrus Painter. Regarding the scepter depicted in the tondo, cf. cat. 13, pl. 12.

50. Several female figures wear crossbands, esp. those depicted flying and running: e.g., Selene from the Parthenon (Brouskari 1974, 135–36, fig. 259 [881]) and some of the Nikai on the para-

pet of the Nike Temple (Buitron-Oliver 1997, 130–31, figs. 5–7). Roccos (2000, 245–47) points out that crossbands seem to be a loan from the East, as are several other garments.

51. The composition can be compared to the decoration of a lekythos by the Shuvalov Painter in Moscow (CVA Moscow 4, 37, pl. 33-14) and the lekythos with Apollo and Artemis in Bologna (Pellegrini 1900, 57–58, fig. 50 [323]).

52. Antoniou (1996, 213–14, n. 5 and fig. 6, IN 1180) identifies the figures as Zeus, Leto, Apollo, and Artemis. In the latest treatment of the relief, Themelis (2002) names the figures as Zeus, Hera or Leto, Apollo, and Artemis and provides a drawing of his restoration of the scene. Kahil (1983, 235) identifies the last preserved female figure with Iphigeneia and dates the relief to 430–420 because of its strong Phidian traits. It is significant that the Codrus Painter's cup is dated to the same period. It seems that the last preserved figure on the relief is indeed Artemis, but the traces of all the animal legs preserved on the stone cannot be explained with the deer that Themelis restores. Recently, Venit (2003) identified the seated male figure with the hero Brauron rather than Zeus, and the running figure with Iphigeneia, interpreting the scene as the introduction of Artemis' cult in Brauron and also a reflection of anti-Spartan sentiments.

53. See Giuman (1999) for a structuralist approach to understanding Artemis.

54. Plut. *De Maliginitate Herodoti*, 26; Xen. *An.* 3.2.11–12; Ael. *VH* 2.25.

55. See Antoniou 1996, 259–78 (appendix) for all the relevant sources.

56. Perhaps its composition was similar to that on the Basel cup (cat. 15, pl. 9).

CHAPTER 8. OTHER MYTHOLOGICAL SUBJECTS

1. Ferrara, M. Naz. di Spina T416BVPA (15365): ARV² 1270.12. Riccioni (1982, n. 4, figs. 2–4) mentions that the tomb where the Triton cup was found was also equipped with a small krater, a late work of the Kleophon Painter, ten black-glaze Attic vases, and two undecorated Etruscan vases.

2. LIMC VII Poseidon, 469 (E. Simon); LIMC VIII Triton, 68 (N. Icard-Gianolio); Langl 1885, 29–30.

3. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art 53.11.4 (1970.46): ARV² 406.7; Bologna, M. Civico 303: LIMC VIII Triton 71, nos. 24, 25.

4. For scenes representing the meeting of Poseidon with Theseus, see LIMC VII Theseus, 939 (J. Neils); Heimberg 1968, 53–58. For an analysis of Bacchylides' ode 17, which treats the same subject, see Calame 1990, 97–98; Shapiro 1994, 117–23.

5. For the significance of the handshake and its multiple associations in art, see Davies 1985. The dexiosis scene of the older man and the warrior resembles the fragment in the Tampa Museum (cat. 11, pl. 18).

6. I thank the reviewer for this comment.

7. Diod. Sic. 4.43.

8. Robertson 1983, 267–68.

9. Pontrandolfo and Mugione (1999) compare the representations of the Argonauts in Magna Graecia and on Attic and other wares from the sixth through the fourth century. Maggiani (1985, esp. 310–12, figs. 4, 5) suggests that the fragmentary cup in

Lucca (cat. 26, pl. 41a–b) may depict the myth of the Argonauts, based on her reading of the inscriptions: ΑΥΚΟΣ, [ΤΑ]ΛΟΣ, [ΑΚ]ΑΣΤΟΣ. One should also note that [Τα]λος may simply be the surviving part of a kalos inscription instead of a name.

10. See, e.g., the stories in Herodotus' book 4 on Darius' expedition to Scythia and Libya. Herodotus was presented with a gift of ten talents for one reading of his *Histories* in Athens and was a close friend of Pericles: Paus. 1.14.6–7; *Ist. Ell. Ethnous* 1972, vol. Γ2, 432–33.

11. *Ist. Ell. Ethnous* 1972, vol. Γ1, 63, 77, 176. An interesting approach is pursued by Meier (1993, 98), who relates the expedition of the Athenian fleet in support of Inarus to the production of tragic plays of the period.

12. Similar associations would have been valid in Etruria. Let us not forget that Spina, findspot of the Triton vase, was a major harbor town with an interest in the safety and expansion of sea routes. Since water and marine elements play an important role in Etruscan funerary iconography, it comes as no surprise that the Triton cup was given as a grave gift. See also p. 70 in this volume.

13. ARV² 1269.7; CVA Florence 1 III, I, 17–18, no. 269 (D. Levi); Beazley (1933, 23, pl. 15) gathers all the data on the history of the fragments and how they were combined and in his 1931 work (52, no. 42) mentions for the first time the Villa Giulia fragment. See also Greifenhagen 1976, 10–11, figs. 2–7; *LIMC* VII Phrixos and Helle, 398–400 (Ph. Bruneau).

14. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. 1028: Scheffold 1989, 17, fig. 3.

15. *LIMC* VII Phrixos and Helle, 398–400 (Ph. Bruneau). Robertson (1940) lists a number of works of sculpture, vases, terracottas (Melian reliefs), and even coins and concludes that in the original story the ram did not fly but swam to Colchis. He believes that the flight was probably an invention of a tragic writer: for example, from some now-lost plays of Aeschylus, possibly entitled *Athamas* or *Phrixos*. Also, sources mention two tragedies of Euripides, lost today and conventionally known as *Phrixos A* and *B*.

16. Beazley (1933, 23) suggested after several inspections of the cup either that the inscription named [ΤΥΝΔΑ]ΠΕΟΣ or that the painter had written [ΜΕΝ]ΕΛΕΟΣ by mistake.

17. Compare the bearded head to the Acropolis fragment (cat. 7, pl. 4).

18. The gesture is identical to Aphrodite's on the oinochoe from the Circle of the Heimarme Painter with Helen and Menelaos in the Vatican (Vatican Museum H525 [16535]: ARV² 1173.3), and also to the gesture of a Hesperid on the hydria by the Meidias Painter in the British Museum (Inv. E224 [1772.30–20–30]: ARV² 1313.5, 1690; *LIMC* II Aphrodite, 121, no. 1259 [A. Delivorrias]; *LIMC* V Hesperides, 399, no. 26 [I. McPhee]).

19. For a reconstruction and photomontage of all the fragments, see Greifenhagen 1976, 10, no. 3, figs. 2–7.

20. See also the painting by Mikon in the Anakeion as a possible source of inspiration: Paus. 1.18.1.

21. Guarducci 1984. On the origins of heroes and their presence in various cities, see Hall 1999.

22. For the story and the Attic heroes involved, see Walker 1995, 14; Shapiro 1996.

23. Lorenz 1992. Shapiro 1999 points out the popularity of the

Dioskouroi on red-figure vases of the fifth century, and how both the Spartans and the Athenians invoke them to win a battle—the latter claiming an Attic origin for Helen and placing her birth at Rhamnous (Hdt. 9.73; Plut. *Thes.* 31–33).

24. Acheilara 2001.

25. Polyaeus, *Strat.* 1.21.2; Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 15.4; Thuc. 8.93.1; *IG* I² 127, all gathered by Shapiro 1989, 150. Xypetos (1982, esp. 38–48) comments on the development of their worship, their gradual heroization, and the introduction of their cult into Attica by Menestheus. The cup by the Penthesilea Painter in Ferrara may depict the Dioskouroi in its tondo, and if this is correct they can be understood as symbols of safe routes both by land and by sea: Ferrara, M. Naz. di Spina, Inv. 44885; ARV² 882.35, 1673; Alfieri and Arias 1958, figs. 28–29.

26. One should also mention the twins' collaboration in founding the colony of Soloi on Cyprus: Kron 1976, 160, pl. 23.1–2. There is also the myth of Theseus' landing at Cyprus after abandoning Ariadne at Naxos, which might be related to the founding of the colony of Soloi: Plut. *Thes.* 20.3–7. See also Calame 1990, 114, 262, n. 117.

27. See also Morris 1992, 347–49.

28. *Ist. Ell. Ethnous* G1, 171–75; Calame 1990, 430, 441.

29. Mangold 2000, 149–52.

30. ARV² 1270.11; *Add.*² 356. According to Louvre records, there were inscriptions in red paint on both the tondo and the exterior, although the latter are now totally erased. The foot is a modern restoration and does not belong to the cup. Pottier (3:269, pl. 148) reports that the lost inscriptions were written in “sans doute blanche” color and he mentions further repainting of the cup, which was later cleaned, according to the Louvre file. On the resting surface of the foot there is an incised mark (K?).

31. For statues depicted on vases, see De Cesare 1997.

32. Dugas 1930, 60–62, fig. 8; Mangold 2000, 52–62, esp. 56–57, fig. 35, for the cup.

33. For a similar arrangement see Lezzi-Hafter 1988, pl. 35, no. 37.

34. For the role of the women in departure scenes, see Lewis 2002, 38–42.

35. De Grummond 2006, 93, fig. V.27.

36. Vatican City, M. Vaticano IN 35082–5 (AST124–7): ARV² 1269, 6. The Timandra fragment added later by Shapiro is registered as IN Aug 13. For a discussion of their attribution to the Codrus Painter, see section 3.5, p. 20 in this volume.

37. A very similar figure is found on a fragmentary cup in Tampa (cat. 11, pl. 18), which should be attributed to the Codrus Painter as well. I am obliged to A. Lezzi-Hafter and J. Oakley for information, and to A. Paul, curator of the Tampa Museum, for a picture of the fragment.

38. Beazley 1960, 219.

39. *Ibid.*, 220. See also Brommer 1949/50, 28, fig. 37, for a similar representation of the god.

40. Shapiro 1993, 200, n. 128, fig. 161.

41. Beazley 1960, 220; Shapiro (1993, 201, n. 464) rightly points out that Beazley confused Leda with Leto. After the addition of the Timandra fragments, Shapiro argued that since Timandra is Helen's sister, we should read the scene as the birth of Helen.

42. Shapiro (1993, 186–202, esp. 201–2, nn. 468–9) brings as parallels the Berlin amphoriskos and the hydria of the Meidias Painter from the Kerameikos. For sculptural representations of Peitho, such as her possible presence on the east frieze of the Parthenon and the tentative identification of her on the east frieze of the Nike Temple, see *ibid.*, 201, nn. 467, 468.

43. Hes. *Op.* 60.

44. It is interesting to note that both the white-ground cup by the Tarquinia Painter and the red-figure krater by the Niobid Painter were found in Tarquinia: *LIMC VII Pandora*, 163–66, nos. 1–2 (M. Oppermann). For Pandora in Italy, see Boardman 2000.

45. E.g., the volute krater by a painter near the Polygnotus Group: *LIMC VII Pandora*, 164, no. 4.

46. See, e.g., the crocodile rhyton from Paphos by the Sotades Painter, which may be drawn from the satyr drama entitled *Ane-sidora/Sphyrokopoi*: *LIMC VII Pandora*, 164, no. 3. On satyrs as assistants to Hephaistos and as hammerers, see Simon 1982b, 134–36, 145–47.

47. Paus. 1.24.5–7; Pollitt 1972, 97–105; and pp. 76–77 in this volume.

48. Paus. 5.11.1–11 (commentary by N. Papachatzes, 257, n. 1) The total height of the seated statue would be 13–14 m. It was transported to Constantinople in the late fourth century CE and was destroyed by fire in 475. For an elaborate drawing of the throne of Zeus, see Maischberger and Heilmeyer 2002, 707, no. 564a, which reproduces an illustration from the book by Quatremère de Quincy, 1815.

49. For the relationship between the statue bases and the Codrus Painter cups, see section 13.2 below.

50. Beazley (1933, 28, no. 268) based the attribution of the kylix to a Painter that Recalls the Codrus Painter on the resemblance of the palmettes to the ones by the Codrus Painter, and the general style. For a summary of the history of research on the Campana Collection, see his introduction with further bibliography.

51. Matheson 1995, 234–44, esp. 240.

52. CVA Florence 1 III, I, pls. 15, 24 (D. Levi); Beazley 1933, 28, no. 268; Bothmer 1957, 180–81, no. 53, pl. LXXIX. 1.

53. Bothmer 1957, 180, no. 50, pl. LXXVIII.5. The krater recalls the style of Polygnotos and the Peleus Painter. On the affinities of style between the Peleus Painter and the Codrus Painter, see section 5.3, p. 30 in this volume.

54. After elaborating on his theory that the Amazonomachy on the frieze of the Athenian Treasury in Delphi was inspired by the assistance the Athenians offered to the revolting Ionian cities in 499 rather than by the Persian Wars, Boardman (1982) examined the monuments preserved in sources or in situ and decorated with representations of an Amazonomachy.

55. *LIMC I Amazons*, 586 (P. Devambez, A. Kauffman-Samaras).

56. Barron 1972; Castriota 2005.

57. Bothmer 1957, 208–9; Berger 1986, pls. 114–39.

58. Harrison 1966.

59. M. Naz. di Napoli IN RC 239.12: *LIMC I Amazons*, 602, no. 243.

60. This is a common motif with parallels in sculpture and vase painting: e.g., Bothmer 1957, pls. 78.3, 5, 6; 84.2; 87.4.

1. On the Codrus Painter and the Etruscan market, see chapter 12.

2. M. Naz. di Tarquinia RC2977: ARV² 1270.16. On the etymology of the words “silenus” and “satyr” and the possible derivation of the latter from the Thracian tribe named Satri, see Jeanmaire 1972, 279.

3. On the thyrsos and its history and the *thystla*, the smaller branches held by members of the thiasos, see *ibid.*, 14.

4. Her drapery recalls figures by the Meidias Painter. See, e.g., Moore 1997, no. 657, pl. 71.

5. Beazley 1958, 6–8.

6. A white-ground pyxis in the Walters Art Museum (Inv. 48.2019) represents the female followers of Dionysos in a similar procession with their sleeves held out like wings: Wehgartner 1983, pls. 45, 46.2–3, col. pl. IV. For the motif and its significance, see Moraw 1998, 82, no. 234, fig. 29.

7. Basel, H. Cahn Coll. 704. The cup awaits publication, and I thank A. Lezzi-Hafter for bringing it to my attention.

8. Herakles mirror: M. Greg. Etrusco, end of the fifth century BCE (Aprile 1979, 70, fig. 44); Kephalos mirror: M. Civico di Bologna, fourth century BCE (*ibid.*, 191, fig. 139). See also Simon and Kathariou 2005, pl. 1a, for a similar ivy wreath decorating the interior of a stemless cup attributed to a follower of the Meidias Painter. For the relationship between motifs from Attic vase paintings and Etruscan equivalents, see Govi and Sassatelli 2004, esp. 250–53, figs. 15–16.

9. Kerényi 1992, 260, 289.

10. Baskets were used in picnics known as *apo spyridos deipnon* (Athen. 8.365b); for a discussion of such dinners, see Van Hoorn (1951, 43). For similar baskets in vase paintings, cf. the chous in the Vlastos Collection, Athens (*ibid.*, pl. 243, cat. 274), the column krater by the Harrow Painter (Cohen and Shapiro 1995, 10, no. 6), and the chous by the Oinokles Painter in the Getty Museum (Oakley and Neils 2003, 148, cat. 66).

11. EAA 631, s.v. Arianna; M. L. Bernhard and W. A. Daszewski (*LIMC III Suppl. Ariadne*, 1050) see a bacchic parody of the wedding night and suggest a satyr play similar to the one performed at the party of Kallias.

12. CVA Würzburg 2, 13, pls. 5, 6 (F. Hölscher). Other possible identifications of the boy include Dionysos’ mystic alter ego and his mystic son (Kerényi 1992, 269), and the *pais amphithales* (Calame 1990, 246–47, 323, 384, n. 67 [chap. 5]; Robert 1940).

13. Lezzi-Hafter 1985.

14. On Komos as a proper name for satyrs, see van Hoorn 1951, pls. 300, 498, 503 (cat. nos. 668, 752, 328 respectively). For a catalogue of satyr and maenad names, see Kossatz-Deissmann 1991. Komos also appears on the Divine Banquet cup by the Codrus Painter: see p. 43 in this volume.

15. *LIMC VII Peitho*, 247, no. 51 (N. Icard-Gianolio); Shapiro 1993, 203–4; Rosenzweig 2004, 19. The scene is misinterpreted by Corredoira 2005, 73. Peitho is also depicted on another cup by the Codrus Painter (cat. 10, pl. 17).

16. British Museum E129: ARV² 1414.89; *Add.*² 375; Curti 2001, 129, no. 128, pl. LXXXV; Kathariou 2002, 28, pl. 39B.

17. M. Naz. di Tarquinia RC4197: ARV² 1057.96; *Add.* 157;

LIMC III Suppl. Ariadne, 1060, no. 110 (M. L. Bernhard–V. A. Daszciski). In the same spirit is the episode illustrated on a calyx krater from Agrigento, dated to 410: Ariadne has caught Dionysos reveling with another youth on his kline and surrounded by satyrs in his service (Simon 1978, fig. 14).

18. Cf. vases that have been more securely interpreted as related to the *hieros gamos*: LIMC III Dionysos, 491–92, nos. 820–26 (C. Gaspari).

19. Simon (1963, 6–22, esp. 14) reads the scene not only as a play but as a *hieros gamos* between Dionysos and Basilinna during the Anthesteria festival. On Dionysos, Ariadne, and *hierogamia*, see Simon 1983, 97–98; Jeanmaire 1972, 222–23.

20. For a similar composition see Lezzi-Hafter 1988, pl. 29, no. 33.

21. Or ΦΥΜΟΣ = ΘΥΜΟΣ, ΣΙΜΙΣ or ΣΙΜΟΝ: LIMC VII Simis, Simon, Simos, 774, no. 9 (A. Kossatz-Deissmann). See also n. 15 above.

22. Simon (1971, esp. 205) points out that such an identification was not possible until the Hellenistic period, when the satyr drama was named *tragodia paizousa* or *paidia*. On Krates' *Paidiai* and *Paidia*'s occurrences in art, see LIMC VII *Paidia*, 141, 142, no. 8 (A. Kossatz-Deissmann).

23. Shapiro 1993, 180.

24. See also the satyr Komos on the Divine Banquet cup (cat. 3, pl. 10b). Bérard (1983) describes how the satyrs' bodies deviate from the standard for beautiful nude bodies. Note, however, that it is only the male body that undergoes these changes: women never have tails or animal ears or noses. The wearing of masks emphasizes the ritual nature of each scene. Moraw (1998, 255–63) examines the development of the representations of maenads on early red-figure vases until the end of the century and comes to some interesting conclusions that might be applied on the Codrus Painter's cup as well. Originally three tendencies are discerned: maenads as mere decoration on symposium vases; maenads as the pendant of hetairai; and the coexistence of three female types: maenad, hetaira, female citizen. In the years 470–430 the maenads' wildness seems to become less apparent: maenads symbolize Nature as an idealized notion within the city limits, and not the opposition between Nature and civilization. They acquire a finer "civic" aspect, and their role as "followers" of Dionysos—a city god—receives more stress. The same applies to the satyrs. During the last quarter of the century, maenads tend to look like other female figures and are distinguished only by their Dionysiac attributes, which often represent the abstract values of the Dionysiac festivals.

25. See also the Theseus cup (cat. 16, pl. 5a–b), and the comments of Seki 1988.

26. On the subject, see Meier 1993, 1–5, 44–51; for a connection between Aeschylus' *Suppliants* and the Areopagos reforms, see *ibid.*, 84; for a comparison of Cassandra to the army that risks vanishing without a trace, *ibid.*, 126–27. Griffin (1998) doubts the consolidating role of Attic tragedy and its communal effect on the viewer and brings forth as a counterargument Plato's view of tragedy and the danger of versatility for the state. In his opinion, plays like *Medea* have little to do with the cohesion of the Athenian democratic state.

27. Or silenic drama, as it was still called in Athens at the be-

ginning of the fourth century: Jeanmaire 1972, 304–5. On the origins of the Greek satyr play, see Sutton 1980, 1–13.

28. Rossi 1972; Krumeich, Pechstein, and Seidensticker 1999, 6, 32–39.

29. Riccioni 1982, 63–66, figs. 1, 6, 7.

30. For a similar libation scene, see Lezzi-Hafter 1988, pl. 29, no. 33.

31. Compare the figure to the satyrs on side B of the Cambridge cup (cat. 54, pl. 23b) and the Oxford chous (cat. 66, fig. 3.1): fig. 3.2 shows all three side by side.

32. Jahn 1868, 1–27, esp. 17; Beazley 1963–64, 3–16, esp. 10–11, no. 8, fig. 7. Vollkommer (1988, 61–78) mentions that Herakles was the main character in ten satyr plays (Aeschylus' *Kerykes* and *Prometheus*; Euripides' *Bousiris*, *Eurystheus*, *Sisiphos*, *Syleus*; *Omphale* by Ion of Chios; Sophocles' *Herakles Satyricus I* and *II*, *Herakles epi Tainaroi*) and appeared in another twelve. See also Sutton 1980, 36–59 (Sophocles), 59–68 (Euripides), 69–74 (*Tragici Minores*); Krumeich, Pechstein, and Seidensticker 1999, 56, 259–79, pls. 7, 20; as well as Simon's discussion in 1982b, 136–39.

33. See Vollkommer 1988, 65, no. 471. Pausanias (5.11.5–6) informs us that the painted screens of Zeus' throne in Olympia were the work of Panaitios (440–430), and one of them depicted Herakles in the Garden of the Hesperides.

34. Attic red-figure oinochoe, 470–460 BCE, London, British Museum E539: ARV² 1669, 776.2; Krumeich, Pechstein, and Seidensticker 1999, pl. 11a.

35. M. Greg. Etrusco 16509: ARV² 623.72; *Add.*² 271; Papaspyridi-Karouzou 1936, pls. XVII–XVIII.1.

36. Athens, Nat. M., Inv. 516 (CC.970): ABV 508; Papaspyridi-Karouzou 1936, pls. XX–XXI.

37. E.g., Vollkommer 1988, 67, no. 505.

38. Papaspyridi-Karouzou 1936, pls. XX–XXI.

39. CVA Munich 19, pls. 80–82 [IN 2360], ca. 420–410. Common elements in the work of the Kadmos Painter and the Codrus Painter include not only their repertoires but also the use of motifs and sources of inspiration.

40. On Sophocles' plays, see Sutton 1980, 115–20; Sutton 1984, 119–26; Krumeich, Pechstein, and Seidensticker 1999, 270–74.

41. Papaspyridi-Karouzou 1936, esp. 154.

42. Bonfante 2006, 34–39, 74; De Grummond and Simon 2006, 58.

43. On Fufuns and satyrs, see p. 70 in this volume.

44. The vase is chipped at this point; it is possible that instead of holding a phiale, the first satyr on side B was making the *apokopeuein* gesture.

45. A similar *sikinnis* pose can be found on the chous in Oxford (cat. 66, fig. 3.1); see section 3.1, pp. 17–18 in this volume.

46. Burn 1988, 101, 103, figs. 1–4.

47. Young (1990, 80–86) discusses some terracotta examples as well. On the role of paidagogos, see Schultze 1998; on the figure of the paidagogos in theatrical illustrations, see Green 1999, 37–63. Against, see Steinhart 2004, 110–11.

48. Burn 1988.

49. See, e.g., the hydria in Houston by the Painter of the Yale Oinochoe, 470–460 (Museum of Fine Arts, Inv. 80.95): Lewis 2002, 63–64, fig. 2.2. On the interpretation of the heron, see *ibid.*, 163–66; Böhr 2002.

50. Compare the pelike by the Alcimachos Painter in the Hermitage, ST1721734: ARV² 531.33; Peredolskaya 1967, 94, pl. LX-VIII 3–4).

51. LIMC III Herakles, 833, nos. 1666–73.

52. On Achaïos of Eretria, see Sutton 1980a, 125–26; Krumeich, Pechstein, and Seidensticker 1999, 266–69, 403–12, 530–35.

53. Green (1994, 38–44) identifies the figure with Theseus but finds it hard to relate it to any surviving satyr play. The evidence is scarce, but one could relate the scenes on the Cambridge cup to the surviving fragments of Euripides' *Theseus*, even though the play is not clearly attested as satyric. See Sutton 1978; 1985.

54. See also the plot of Euripides' *Hippolytos*, produced in 428, where Theseus is attacked by the Amazons on his way to marry Phaidra: Mills 1997, 186–91; Green 1994, 38–44.

55. Schmidt (1995, esp. 23–25) suggests an influence from Bacchylides' odes, where Theseus is still *prothebos* and begins to show interest in the *athyrmata* (games, toys) of Ares.

56. CVA Berlin 2, 41, no. 100, figs. 7–8, pl. 100 (A. Greifenhagen); Krumeich, Pechstein, and Seidensticker 1999, esp. 416–17, pl. 27a–b.

57. Krumeich, Pechstein, and Seidensticker 1999, 413–19; see also Sutton 1980b, 61, 73–74.

58. If we question the identification of the figures with Nubians, then the so-called Bousiris becomes equally problematic. One wonders whether the figure's oriental costume might better fit a Lydian queen, an identification that could suggest the association of this vase with a different satyr play, Ion's *Omphale*.

59. Sutton 1980b, 36–38; Krumeich, Pechstein, and Seidensticker 1999, 227–35.

CHAPTER 10. DEPARTURE SCENES AND HOPLITE REPRESENTATIONS

1. Marconi 2004b versus Osborne 2004a. On images of departing warriors, see Matheson 2005.

2. Richter 1936, 179–80, pl. 145, no. 142. The warrior wearing a petasos recalls the sandaled figure on side A of the Triton cup (cat. 18, pl. 14b). On the Tübingen fragment, see CVA Tübingen 5, 42, pl. 17.3 (J. Burow). The warrior's pose vividly recalls the figure of Telamon from the Basel cup (cat. 15, pl. 9b). The dependence from the Doryphoros is evident.

3. In *L'abitato* (1985, 52, no. 165) it is stated that the third figure of the cup wears a short chiton, but I cannot confirm this from the published photo.

4. In *L'abitato* (1985, 52–53, nos. 165–66) the cup was originally attributed to a painter within the Circle of the Codrus Painter based on the Codrus Painter's tendency to fill the space underneath the handles with volute palmettes that often overlap with the feet of the figures on the sides. See also Maggiani 1997, 49, 79, fig. 115; Reusser (2002, 2:71–72) points out that the site of Monteregeggi is associated with a nearby sanctuary.

5. CVA Altenburg 2, 21, pl. 70 (E. Bielefeld).

6. The arrangement of the scene recalls the exterior of the Phrixos cup in Florence (cat. 4, pl. 15b–c).

7. CVA Altenburg 2, 21, pl. 70. Most of the cup consists of grayish clay, which probably belongs to a different vase.

8. ARV² 1270.13. Since the cup is not yet published, I am

thankful to A. Lezzi-Hafter for providing me with a photograph of the scenes depicted on it.

9. For the role of the rock in reliefs, see Mitropoulou 1977, 142; Picón 1978, 52, fig. 2 (slab B); Kosmopoulou 2002, 71, nn. 54, 55.

10. For the affinities of this copy with Parthenonian figures, see Neils 2001, 216–19, fig. 154. For the three-figure reliefs, see Götze 1938; Thompson 1952, pl. 17c–d; Harrison 1964, esp. pl. 12a for the Peirithous relief (Torlonia and Louvre). On the Ilissos frieze, see Picón 1978. See also section 13.1 below.

11. Cf. other Underworld scenes, such as the calyx krater by the Niobid Painter (ARV² 601.22, 1661; CVA Louvre 2, III.Id.3, pls. 1.1–4, 2.1–4, 3.1–5, 4.1 [95–98]) and the cup by the Painter of London E105 (ARV² 1293.10; LIMC VII Theseus, 234–35, 946, nos. 19, 296).

12. For scenes with Theseus in the Underworld, see Servadei 2005, 168–75.

13. Pozzi 1985, 241–42.

14. Naples, M. Arch. Naz. 146741: ARV² 1275.3.

15. Drinking from a phiale is not a common motif, and the only parallel I was able to find comes from the black-figure oinochoe by Kleisophos and Xenokles, ca. 520, where one of the symposiasts seems to be using a phiale: Athens, Nat. M., Inv. 1045; Cohen 2000, fig. 13.10.

16. Cf. the kantharos in Taras by the Eretria Painter depicting the departure of Hektor and Paris, and Menelaos seeking Helen: Taranto, M. Arch. Naz., Inv. 177009. The similarities are striking: note the seated figures, the woman assisting with the libation, and Hektor's helmet: Lezzi-Hafter 1988, pl. 185 (285 bis).

17. This couple echoes Argeia and Theseus in the tondo of the Basel cup (cat. 15, pl. 9a): note the similarity of the fringed shoulder cloth to Argeia's.

18. A suggestion first made by Pozzi 1985, 242. On depictions of Aithra as an elderly woman, see Pfisterer-Haas 1989, 23–24, 114–15; LIMC I Aithra, 426–27, nos. 66–69, 72 (U. Kron). On the other hand, there are at least three named representations of a youthful Aithra: on the calyx krater by the Methyse Painter in Bologna, ca. 460 (M. Civico PU 285: ARV² 633.6; LIMC I Aithra, 424, no. 47); on the fragmentary bell krater in Corinth attributed to the Villa Giulia Painter (Corinth, Archaeological Museum C32.74: ARV² 619.14; for a picture, see Beazley Archive website, no. 207163); and on the namepiece of the Codrus Painter (cat. 1, pl. 1c). Also cf. the pelike by the Villa Giulia Painter (Syracuse, M. Arch. Regionale Paolo Orsi 22177: ARV² 622.48; Carpenter 1997, pl. 24B).

19. See p. 58, n. 11 in this volume.

20. A similar connection between a wine libation and Theseus is made by Simon and Kathariou (2005, 73–78).

21. I would like to thank D. S. Holloway, curator of the Antiquities Collection at the Charterhouse School in Godalming (Surrey, UK) for permission to examine and photograph the vase before the school's collection was auctioned in 2002: Sotheby's 2002, 38–39, no. 71.

22. Cf. votive reliefs with boys leading horses: e.g., Athens, Nat. M., Inv. 3278 (Kaltsas 2001, 131, no. 249), and Inv. 1349 (ibid., no. 250). The area around the youth by the pillar has been restored, rendering it unclear whether the figure once held a strigil or simply lifted his hand in a conversational motif.

23. On the *hippos keles* and similar representations of boys on horses, see Kefalidou 1996, 232 (I 18–19).

24. See also p. 73 in this volume.

25. Vidal-Naquet 1986, 97–99, 106–12, esp. 109–10. For the origin of the name Apatouria, see Straten 1981, 89–91; Robertson 1988, 215, 227. Lambert (1998, 143–48) elaborates on Melanthios, father of Codrus and grandfather of Medon, comparing the Apatouria with the institution of the *crypteia*. Calame (1990, 70) discusses the Apatouria and the different levels of application of the Theseus myth, while Walker (1995, 95) treats the ambiguity of Theseus' status, particularly in relation to the liminal position of the ephebes. On children and rituals, see Neils 2003. For a discussion of father–son activities, see Shapiro 2003, esp. 96. The sources for the festival of Apatouria date mainly to the late fourth century and describe it as a public event that took place in the month of Pyanopsion and lasted three days. The first day, Dorpia, included an evening feast, while the second was the day of the sacrifice, Anarrhysis (probably from the verb *anarrhyein*, to draw back the head, consent to sacrifice). During the third day, the registration of boys at the age of three or four—and possibly of girls—took place. This day was called Koureotis from the symbolic cutting of the hair: Knauer 1996, 221–46. The phratry officials, except for the ones responsible for the feast, were the phratriarch, the priest, the *hieropoioi* (minor religious functionaries), and the *epimeletai* (minor administrative officials); see Lambert 1995, 152–55, 160–63 citing (Schol. Ar. *Ach.*; Pl. *Ti.* 21a–b), as well as his comments on the officials and on the question of the presentation of girls in the phratry (178, 225).

26. After the first year of service, the ephebes were sent to patrol the borders. According to Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 42.5), individuals were enrolled into demes before the two-year training and performed garrison duty (*peripolia*). In some cases the *neotatoi* served their country successfully, as for example in the battle against Corinth near Megara in the mid-fifth century. Rawlings (2002, 236–41) suggests that the hoplites were not a monolithic military unit, but a versatile group of men who learned alternative methods of warfare at an early age. In one often-cited passage, Thucydides (3.22.2) describes how the Plataeans managed to reach Athens in 428 by leaving their hoplite armor behind and running through the mud with one sandal. He interprets the ephebic training not as the opposite of the hoplites' but rather as complementary and providing useful experiences. On the interpretation of some vase paintings as showing ephebes departing for military training versus hoplites departing for a campaign, see Matheson 2005, esp. 30–33.

27. Calame 1990, 155, n. 134. For an inscription on chariot racing dated to 158/157, see *ibid.*, nn. 956, 958–65. Cf. Pelekidis 1962, 229.

28. Calame 1990, 146, 338.

29. Vanhove 1993–98, 1:72, no. 129; 2:74, no. 52; 2:75, no. 53; 3:68, no. 60.

30. For an elaborate presentation of the subject in connection with the Alkmaionids and the later political extensions of athletic and hippic victories, see Mann 2001, 86–113.

31. Kyle (1987, 40–41, n. 46) points out that there is no clear indication of the festival's program in the fifth and fourth centuries.

32. For example, Theseus was a model for Athenian youths,

and the iconography and literature of the period often associate the different stages of the hero's life with rites of passage for Athenian males: *pais*, *meirakion*, *aner*. Calame (1990, 186–93, nn. 7–8) discusses the *prophebos androtheis* (youth turning to an adult) contradiction in Theseus' case, as well as Bacchylides' poem and Aristotle's *Politics*, with a comparison between warriors and athletes and an examination of how the two roles complement each other (187–90). He further examines the ephebes on Crete and the crossing of the threshold between the status of ephebe and that of adult citizen (190–93), with comments on the education of young Athenians (446).

33. British Museum 1948.10–15.3: ARV² 1274.

34. For more details see Rawlings 2002, 247, n. 57, which estimates the full weight of a complete bronze panoply to be 30 kg.

35. The figure of the lying warrior recalls Herakles on the Herakles cup (cat. 22, pl. 22b), but the rest of the figures have very little to do with the static departing warriors and may be better compared to some of the Codrus Painter's athletes. The palmettes clearly belong to a different hand.

36. Pritchett 1985, 7–93.

37. Athens, Nat. M., Inv. 4551: Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, 396–99, no. 452; Maischberger and Heilmeyer 2002, 215, fig. 5.

38. Arist. *Pol.* 8.1362a; Isoc. *Peace* 77, 84, 101; Isoc. *Panath.* 116. Hanson (2000, esp. 219–22, nn. 1, 5, 20) discusses hoplite warfare in South Italy and the social status of the hoplites.

CHAPTER 11. DEPICTIONS OF YOUTHS AND ATHLETES

1. On the origins of Greek athletics, see Miller 2004, 20–30. On the Panathenaic Games, see O. Palagia and A. Spetsieri-Choremi, eds., *The Panathenaic Games: Proceedings of an International Conference Held at the University of Athens, May 11–12, 2004* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2006), with more bibliography.

2. Kyle 1987, 15, 53–55. On the impact of athletics on art, esp. the depiction of musculature and motion, see also Miller 2004, 226–34.

3. Rawlings 2002, 245–46. On sports and society, see Golden 1998.

4. Thuillier 1985, 1–13, 53–79.

5. On the subject, see *ibid.*, 348–49; for Greek and Etruscan gods associated with various games, see *ibid.*, 461.

6. For a treatment of the sources regarding combat sports in Etruria and the absence of the *pankration*, see *ibid.*, 181–82, 337–43. On the popularity of boxing, Haynes 2000, 109–10; on boxing to flute music, Ath. 4.154, 12.518b; Ael. NA 12.46.

7. The same applies to diskos throwing. See Thuillier 1985, 287–94, 295–306.

8. *Ibid.*, 353–412, 495. Ath. *Deipn.* 12.517d (quoting Theopompos) describes Etruscan women and the care that they took of their bodies, exercising even among men and without feeling ashamed of their nakedness. Apart from the social questions that this passage raises, it suggests that public nudity was not unheard of among the Etruscans. Shapiro (2000, 323, n. 23) discusses Etruscan tomb paintings representing athletes as naked, such as the Tomba Cardarelli and the Tomb of the Augurs (Steingraber 1986, 269, no. 17, pl. 18).

9. Patrucco 1972, 191–223; Miller 2004, 6–74.

10. Cf. Agakles, son of Phrynichos, depicted as a pankratiast or

ballplayer on the funerary relief from Chasani (ancient Alimous), ca. 410, in Athens, Nat. M., Inv. 2004: Kaltsas 2001, 152, no. 298.

11. Kefalidou 1996.

12. The drawing recalls the figure of Eriboia from the Basel cup (cat. 15, pl. 9a), while the composition as a whole can be compared to the cup by the Codrus Painter from Ampurias (cat. 29, pl. 33a), which depicts Nike among athletes, and a contemporary pelike in the Manner of the Painter of Louvre 4539 from the end of the century: Kefalidou 1996, 213 (Γ102); Vanhove 1998, 92, no. 122.

13. Cf. the stylistically close figures on the Basel Athletes cup (cat. 25, pl. 40a) and the Castelvener cup (cat. 26, pl. 41a).

14. The scene is comparable to the calyx krater by the Dinos Painter: CVA British Museum 10, 63–64, pl. 32, col. pl. C, cat. no. 33 (V. Smallwood and S. Woodford). On *apodyteria*, see Miller 2004, 109, fig. 195.

15. Schmidt 1998. I thank A. Lezzi-Hafter for providing me with a photocopy showing the vase joined with more fragments. Charmides' name could also be the remaining half of a kalos inscription; for kalos names and other inscriptions on vases attributed to the Codrus Painter and his Circle, see the Appendix.

16. Mencacci and Zecchini 1976, 210–13, figs. 89–91 (IN 98315); Colonna 1985, 170–71, no. 9.5.6; Reusser 2002, 2:65.

17. Esposito and Tommaso 1993, 69, fig. 108 (Inv. 4220). The cup attributed to the Manner of the Tarquinia Painter (near Pistoxenos Painter) in Florence is dated to the second quarter of the fifth century and shows in its tondo a youth scrapping dust and oil from his body with a strigil, with a dog near his feet. A peculiar object, perhaps a sponge, is on the right. There is also an inscription reading: ΑΥΚΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ. Esposito thinks that it is a comment about the “wolflike dog,” but one could also see it as a compliment to the youth.

18. Maggiani 1985, esp. 310–12, n. 21, figs. 4, 5. The subject of the Argonauts may not be totally incompatible with the palaistra scene. Philostratus (*Gymnasticus* 3) reports that while the Argonauts were on Lemnos, Jason invented the pentathlon, the contest involving running, javelin, diskos, wrestling, and jumping, and that Peleus was the first to be crowned victor of the newly established sport. However, I prefer the association with a famous Athenian of the times, as proposed below.

19. The gesture of ἸΑΥΚΟΣ strongly recalls the figure on the Basel Athletes cup (cat. 25, 40a–b), and the general setting of the youths is akin to palaistra scenes by the Codrus Painter. Also cf. the body-type on the fragment in Münster (cat. 55, pl. 42).

20. For Autolykos, see Kyle 1987, 198 (A12): Autolykos Lykonos Thorikios, with a full list of primary and secondary sources on the subject. For Autolykos I and II, see Krumeich, Pechstein, and Seidensticker 1999, 403–12.

21. Mann (2001, 114–17) explores the civic role of victors in sports and the maintenance of oligarch groups and ideals in the very heart of the Athenian democracy: the training centers.

22. Stylistically this cup is closer to Aison than the Codrus Painter. Also cf. the body-type on the fragment in Münster (cat. 55, pl. 42).

23. On javelin throwing see Gardiner 1930, 169–76; Patrucco 1972, 171–88; Miller 2004, 68–74.

24. Lee 1976, pl. IIa; Gardiner 1930, fig. 144; Patrucco 1972, 180, fig. 89.

25. CVA Florence 1 III, I, 17, pl. 15 (D. Levi). The exterior preserves parts of athletes and youths. The youth leaning on a staff can be compared to the figure on the exterior of the Cassandra cup in the Louvre (cat. 19, pl. 16b–c). A similar gesture is found on two figures on the cup in Zurich (cat. 31, pl. 28a).

26. Gardiner 1930, 144–53; Patrucco 1972, 65–92. Miller (2004, 63–68) provides illustrations of various types of *halteres* and a reconstruction drawing of the stages of the jump. Cf. the suspended aryballos on the Duke cup (cat. 65, pl. 62; and cf. cat. 57, pl. 52a–c; cat. 58, pl. 46a–c; cat. 98, pl. 73a–c).

27. Cf. cat. 43, pl. 51, and cat. 34 (CVA Florence 1 III, I, nos. 205–6, pl. 12 [D. Levi]). For diskos throwing, its mythology, and the stages of the throw, see Gardiner 1930, 154–57; Patrucco 1972, 133; Miller 2004, 60–63. The composition recalls the athletes on other cups (cat. 38 and 83), but it was drawn hastily.

28. Some scholars interpret the scene as a runner at the starting point; see Miller 2004, 31–46, esp. 35, fig. 38, and the fragmentary cup in Bologna (cat. 77). The jumper on the exterior recalls the athlete on the Richmond cup (cat. 69, pl. 54b). Side A depicts boxers and side B pankratiasts: CVA Copenhagen 4, 124, pl. 160 (C. Blinkenberg–K. Friis Johansen).

29. CVA Brussels 2, pl. 6, no. 4 (F. Mayence); Gardiner 1930, 197–201; Boardman and Pope 1961, pl. XIII (upside down); and in the exhibition catalogue *Living Antiquity—Lewende Antieke: Department of Ancient Studies University Stellenbosch in collaboration with Iziko Museums of Cape Town*, 3/3/05–3/3/07 (Cape Town: Iziko Museums, 2005). Also Patrucco 1972, 225–67; Poliakoff 1987, 68–88; Miller 2004, 51–57.

30. On kalos names, see Appendix.

31. Similar representations are also found on Etruscan tombs and on coins; see Gardiner 1905; 1906; and 1930, 181–85. See also Patrucco 1972, 269–308, esp. fig. 125; *ibid.*, 187, fig. 137.

32. Note the peculiar depiction of his chest and the wavy formation of the sternum, which recalls the athletes on the cup in Cambridge (cat. 68, pl. 45b). Miller (2004, 48–49, fig. 76) discusses the move known as *hedran strephein* (turn the seat), depicted on the cup in Ullastret (cat. 73).

33. Shapiro 1981b, 15, no. 59 (J. Neils); Knell 1990, 129, fig. 198. The bow was Herakles' favorite weapon, and his depiction as an archer on the east metopes of the Hephaisteion may have been the source of inspiration for the Codrus Painter, while the torso of an archer from the Acropolis provides an even closer parallel to the figure in the tondo: Brouskari 1974, 128, fig. 246 (599).

34. Bentz 2002, esp. 249–50, fig. 2.

35. Patrucco 1972, 124–31; Kyle 1987, 192. For a possible representation of the Prometheia on the bell krater by the Nikias Painter (410 BCE), see Kefalidou 1996, 219, pl. 56 (A4).

36. Vanhove (1993, 17) describes the actual moment of *diadochē*, the passing of the flame, represented on the pelike in Athens, Nat. M., Inv. 16194 (dated 425), and the bell krater by the Kekrops Painter in New York (Metropolitan Museum of Art 56.171.49: ARV² 1347.3).

37. Kyle 1987, 190–93; for a possible depiction of the Panathenaic torch race, see the bell krater attributed to the Manner of the Peleus Painter, 430–420, housed in Harvard, 60.344: ARV² 1041, 10; Kefalidou 1996, 218, col. pl. 10 (A1).

38. This is known from Hellenistic sources; see Kyle 1987, 40–

48; see *ibid.*, 193 for the *aphippolampas* held in Piraeus in honor of Artemis Bendis.

39. See also pp. 80–81 in this volume. The use of a double line for the depiction of the youths' *linea alba* is similar to the drawing of the cups in Cambridge and Richmond (cat. 68, pl. 45a–c; cat. 69, pl. 54a–c).

40. Vanhove 1996, 103, no. 69. It is worth noting that representations of musical contests are almost completely absent from the repertory of the Codrus Painter and his Circle.

41. See, e.g., how the kneecap is rendered with two curved lines, instead of the usual diamond-shaped pattern, and the difference in the depiction of the clavicle; cf. sections 2.1–2.3. The cup has also been restored and repainted.

42. Their mantles recall another musician represented on an earlier work attributed to the Painter of the Paris Gigantomachy (480 BCE): Vanhove 1998, 80, no. 97. The Geneva cup (cat. 95, pl. 56) should be attributed to the same hand as the cup in Ghent (cat. 104, pl. 76): i.e., to a painter Near the Codrus Painter, possibly the Painter of Cambridge 72.

43. Geddes 1987 argues that the messages clothes conveyed in the case of fifth-century Athenians were leisure, fitness, sports, and equality.

44. See, e.g., the Agathokles relief, which depicts the deceased as an athlete with a strigil and a dog by his feet: Athens, Nat. M., Inv. 742; Kaltsas 2001, 100, no. 178.

45. The rest of the figures recall previous figure-types on cups such as the Apodyterion cup (see also cat. 24, pl. 34; cat. 67, pl. 44; cat. 94, pl. 30).

46. For similar examples see the Ceglie cup (cat. 63, pl. 61), decorated with slim, elegant figures arranged in the spirit of the Ferrara Athletes and Apodyterion cups (cat. 36, pl. 57; cat. 24, pl. 34).

47. The palmette of the Enserune cup (cat. 62, pl. 63) is similar to the one on another fragment in Enserune: cat. 85, pl. 67.

48. ARV² 1271.38 (bis); *Para.* 472. It was probably called *petauron* in ancient Greek. For more information, see Caskey and Beazley 1963, 48–49, no. 149, pl. LXXXV 3–4. For pictures of the exterior, consult the Beazley Archives Web site: <http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk/databases/pottery.htm>, no. 217249.

49. On the Athenian male dress code, see Geddes 1987, esp. 308–9.

50. Cf. the two satyrs balancing on a seesaw on the red-figure pelike in the Manner of the Washing Painter, ca. 450: Lissarrague 1990, 141, fig. 108. Oakley and Neils (2003, 274) mention that in addition to young girls, komasts and Erotes played on seesaws.

51. Olmos 1986.

52. For a discussion of the ancient sources and the depictions of the Aiora, see H. Immerwahr, “Choes and Chytroi,” *TAPA* 77 (1946): 245–60, esp. 254–60.

53. D. Ridgway, “Archaeology in Central Italy and Etruria,” *JHS* 14 (1967–68): 41. The Euergides cup in Rome, M. Naz. Etr. di Villa Giulia 352430: *Para.* 330; G. Riccioni and M. Falconi Amorelli, “La Tomba della Panatenaica di Vulci,” *Quaderni di Villa Giulia* 3 (1968): 39–41, no. 24. Similarly, the hydria by the Dwarf Painter was found in Apulia (ARV² 1011.17; CVA Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional 2, IIIID 4, pl. [89], 6.1), while the calyx krater with a *phlyax* seesaw scene also has a South Italian prov-

enance; both vases are intact, inviting again the assumption of a funerary findspot. See A. D. Trendall, *The Red-figured Vases of Lucania, Campania and Sicily* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), 592.46; Syracuse, Museo Arch. Regionale Paolo Orsi: 47039; CVA Syracuse, Museo Archeologico Nazionale 1, IV E.4, pls. (845, 846), 3.1–2, 4.1–2.

54. Steingraber 1986, 273–75, no. 25, pls. 193–94; 2006, 121–22.

CHAPTER 12. THE CODRUS PAINTER AND THE ETRUSCAN MARKET

1. Von Mehren 2001.

2. Boardman 1979, 34–35; Arafat and Morgan 1994, 115–16; de La Genière 1999, esp. 417–23; Osborne 2004b, 78–79; Osborne 2007. Similar approaches have been pursued in the study of Attic exports to the East. For example, Keith DeVries maintains that the Pithos Painter may have been targeting an oriental clientele when choosing motifs to decorate his cups, while the Attic potters eagerly adopted the so-called Cypro-jug once they realized the economic potential of exporting this particular shape to the Cypriot market: DeVries 1977; Perreault 1986, 166–68; Miller 1997, 69–72.

3. On the decline of the Etruscan market, see Arafat and Morgan 1994, 120–21. On the difficulty of describing with accuracy the sophisticated network of suppliers, middlemen, and purchasers even at the height of Attic pottery exports, see Paleothodoros 2007. On the distribution of Attic pottery with mythological subjects in Italy, see Mugione 2000, esp. charts 7–8.

4. E.g., his namepiece depicting Codrus (cat. 1, pl. 1), the birth of Erichthonios witnessed by legendary Athenian kings (cat. 2, pl. 3), and Aigeus meeting Themis (cat. 17, pl. 8).

5. Avramidou 2005; 2006, 565–66.

6. For the importance of Spina as a major hub for importing and redirecting Attic pottery, see Giudice 2004, esp. 187; Aigner Foresti 2002.

7. On the markets favored by the Codrus Painter, see Mugione 2000, 51 and pls. 7–8.

8. F. Giudice and S. Barresi, “La distribuzione della ceramica attica nell’area mediterranea: Dai dati Beazley alle nuove acquisizioni,” in Schmaltz and Söldner 2003, 280–86.

9. The Codrus Painter specialized in painting cups, in contrast to the Eretria Painter, the Calliope Painter, and the Marlay Painter, who produced a variety of shapes and consequently exported their products to different markets in Greece and beyond. A brief survey of the catalogued vases with known provenance in ARV² reveals that the Eretria Painter targeted equally the Greek market (twenty vases) and the Etruscan one (twenty-one)—a pattern also followed by the Marlay Painter, whereas the Calliope Painter was more oriented toward a Greek clientele: nineteen vases found in Greece versus seven in Etruria.

10. Dubosse 1999, esp. 394; Arribas 1967, 134–35 (390–33), 136 (394), pls. LXXIV.17–20, LXXV, LXXVI.1; on Greek pottery from the Iberian peninsula, see Olmos 1999.

11. It is worth noting that the export of Attic red-figure vases to Iberia peaked in the second half of the fifth century BCE, and that they appear to have been distributed by Greeks, Carthaginians, and Iberians alike. The drinking cup is the most dominant shape, and its use was primarily funerary: G. R. Tsetskhladze, A. J. Dominguez, and C. Sanchez, eds., *Greek Pottery from the Iberian Peninsula* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), esp. 433–63.

12. Arafat and Morgan 1994, 120.
13. Beazley 1989, 62: "Neither at Spina nor anywhere else did the taste of the local customers influence the range of subjects . . . [they] did not dictate the subjects. They admired and accepted." Osborne (2004a, 52) argues that Athenian painters did not bother "second-guessing . . . the tastes or needs of the export market."
14. Arafat and Morgan 1994, 120; Marconi (2004b) proposes a pluralistic approach to the interpretation of Attic vases.
15. Spivey 1991.
16. Lewis 2003.
17. Isler-Kerényi 2003, 40–47. See also Boardman 2001, esp. 164, 226, and 236, where he maintains that the Greek potters were more concerned with producing a desirable shape than with targeting the Etruscan market or choosing scenes to attract the Etruscan buyer.
18. Reusser 2002, 1:204–6; see also Bats and d'Agostino 1999.
19. Spivey 1991, 145–46; Arafat and Morgan 1994, 117: "Greek mythology was different from Etruscan, but it was meaningful and readily adaptable to Etruscan themes."
20. E.g., the Tomb of the Augurs and the Tomb of the Olympic Games: Steingraber 1986, 283, no. 42, pls. 13–22, pp. 328–29, no. 92, pls. 121–26; 2006, 92–94, 98–99. On relief bases from Chiusi, see Jannot 1984, 57–58 (C, I, 26b; C, I, 27a), 80 (C, II, 33a), 340–62.
21. See p. 70 in this chapter.
22. J. Turfa, "International Contacts: Commerce, Trade, and Foreign Affairs," in Bonfante 1986, 72–73; Spivey 1991, 143–44.
23. Reusser (2002, 1:29–45, 48–122) uses new data to reverse the current statistics on findspots and usage, while Spivey (1991, 132–33, 149) argues that, despite all reservations, the statistics will not change greatly and that Etruscan tombs will continue to be the main source for Greek vases. The same opinion is expressed by Lewis 2003, 177–78.
24. Bertani 1995.
25. Amouretti 1992.
26. Nilsson 1999.
27. Marinari 2004.
28. Torelli 1989. Making a similar point: Dentzer 1971; Schmitt-Pantel 1992; Pontrandolfo 1995; Rathje 1995. On the social role of the symposium in the Greek world, see also Dentzer 1982, 429–52.
29. Compare the evidence from late sixth-century BCE Orvieto, a city with an "urban demos" and a middle class of craftsmen and tradesmen, often of foreign origin, as the excavations show: Reusser 2002, 1:119–23; Bonfante 1986, 55). See also the remarks of Izzet (2007, 87) on the association of funerary architecture with the "ceto medio," the rising middle class. On the rise of the middle class after the economic crisis of the second half of the fifth century in Tarquinia, see Steingraber 2006, 22–25.
30. Dentzer 1971, 247–50; Bonfante 1986, 34–43; Tuck 1994.
31. Ath. *Deipn.* 1.23d (citing Aristotle), 12.515a–b, 517d–f (*FGrH* 115 F204); Small 1974.
32. Bonfante 1986, 234.
33. For a discussion of the significance of female representations on Attic vases found in Etruria, see Lewis 1997, esp. 146–47; 2003, 188–90.
34. These banquet scenes may be compared stylistically to the Divine Banquet cup by the Codrus Painter (cat. 3, pl. 10). Stein-

gräber 2006, 15–16 (and also 1986) reports that one fourth (24%) of 177 Etruscan tombs dating from the late sixth to the end of the fourth century BCE depict banquet scenes in the strict sense (i.e., excluding dance, music, and other activities). More than half of these tombs (60%) come from Tarquinia, 75 percent of them represent couples (male and female) banqueting, while 55 percent are dated between the second quarter of the fifth century and the early fourth century. On Etruscan frescoes depicting banqueting in the afterlife, see Steiner 2003, 28–53. Characteristic examples include the Tomb of the Painted Vases, 500 BCE (Fehr 1971, 353–55), Tomb of the Elder, 500 BCE (*ibid.*, 355), Tomb 3098, 500 BCE (*ibid.*, 368), Tomb of the Triclinium, 470 BCE (*ibid.*, 352), Tomb of Orcus II, last quarter of the fourth century (*ibid.*, 329–30). For the last-named tomb, see also Torelli 1987, 161–78; Small 1994. For types of vessels found in Etruscan tombs, see Reusser 2002, 1:192–202. On the Tomb of the Triclinium and its connection to the cult of Aphrodite, see Massa-Pairault 1996, 131.

35. Reusser 2002, 2:102; Steingraber (1986, 332, no. 9, pls. 118–20) dates it to the late fifth century BCE, while Spivey (1991, 135–37) prefers an earlier date of around 450. Leighton (2004, 111–12, fig. 47) places it between 440 and 400. On emporia in Etruria, see Massa-Pairault 1996, 105–10.

36. These representations are often thought to have been made as a means to cast doubt on death itself and lighten the heavy atmosphere of the funeral ceremony: de Marinis 1961, 113–17, 119–23; Bonfante 1986, 232–75. Shapiro (2000, 330–36) discusses Attic and Etruscan banquets and funerary customs and points out that banquets on the ground are "an Athenian adaptation to the customs of the Etruscan clientele."

37. In Greece, the *perideipnon* took place in the tomb during Geometric times, but in the Archaic and Classical periods the feast was organized in the house of the deceased: Hegesippos, *Adelphoi* 11–16; Menander, *Aspis*; Simantoni-Bournia 1988, 26; Garland 2001, 39–41; Oakley 2004, 13. In the Tomb of the Funerary Bed in Tarquinia, the deceased reclines on a kline as if participating in the banquet with the rest of the relatives, while the Tomb of Ciaia strengthens the suggestion that the reliefs of Chiusi depict real scenes directly connected to funerary ceremonies in that area. For illustrations, see respectively Steingraber 1986, 318–19, no. 82, pls. 110–12, and *ibid.*, 269–70, no. 18.

38. E.g., the Cerveteri sarcophagus of the married couple and the Tomb of Hunting and Fishing in Tarquinia with banqueting couple, both ca. 530–520: Haynes 2000, figs. 176, 186 respectively.

39. Bonfante 1986, fig. iv.19.

40. Reusser 2002, 1:167, no. 137, 181–83; *LIMC* VIII Vanth, 173–83 (C. Weber-Lehmann), and *LIMC* IV Hades/Aita/Calu, 394 (I. Krauskopf). On the Etruscan equivalent of the Greek Hades and bacchic rituals in his honor, see Isler-Kerényi 2003, 40. On myths and motifs as symbols of the afterlife in Etruria, see Steiner 2003, 248–65. For a discussion of the theoretical models framing the reception of objects, their visibility, and the viewer, as well as the creation of identity, see Izzet 2007, 28–42, 209–15.

41. M. de Cesare, "Immagini greche nella Sicilia 'elima,'" in Giudice and Panvini 2003, 113–28, esp. 116–18, pl. I.6.

42. Davies 1985. See also an example from Soph. *OC* 1631–32. For dexiosis in Etruria, see Steiner 2003, 128–35.

43. Shapiro 2000, 315–18; Reusser 2002, 1:189.

44. Small 1974; cf. the different approach in Reusser 2002, 1:178–79.

45. On the civic and social values reflected in the banquet sets that accompanied the deceased, see Massa-Pairault 1996, 132–36.

46. Reusser 2002, 1:124–25.

47. Note however the case of the Cypro-jug, discussed in n. 2 above.

48. Shapiro (2000) describes the Athenians' view of the Etruscans as "exotic foreigners." For the Etruscan perception of Attic vase paintings, see Reusser 2002, 1:146–51, with extended presentation of different subjects.

49. Lissarrague 1987; along the same lines, see Blinkenberg 1999. For a counterargument supporting a double perspective, see Isler-Kerényi 1999; 2003.

50. Arafat and Morgan 1994, 133: "Once Attic finewares leave Attica, they cease to be 'Attic' in the sense that they were originally created; vessels selected by Etruria become part of Etruscan material culture, and Etruscan values and interests determine how and when they are used and traded on."

51. Massa-Pairault 2005.

52. On appropriation of Greek myths by Etruscan tyrants, see Massa-Pairault 1996, 116–18; see 156–57 for comments on the Etruscan conception of *paideia*, *ethos*, and *polis*. Massa-Pairault relates Eos to Turan (1999a, 521–54) and claims that the Etruscan Nike can be interpreted as an alter ego of Athena, since Aphrodite is identified with Ourania/Iris, while Eos is related to the Etruscan Turan, the principal deity of love and pure Etruscan origin. Eos' popularity suggests a connection to the politico-religious vision of Servius Tullius. Erichthonios, along with other heroes such as Kephalos, Eumolpos, and Hippothoos, incorporates the ideas of *phyle* and *genos*. This concept of a child as the incarnation of a place and a political principle is a persistent feature of Etruscan thought. On snakes and marine figures in Etruscan art, see Steiner 2003, 70–75. For a recent treatment of the reception of Attic pottery in non-Greek states, see Fless 2003.

53. For a discussion of the Erichthonios myth and the homonymous cup by the Codrus Painter, see section 6.2 in this volume.

54. The eloquent Attic representations of the divine child may have even generated an assimilation of Erichthonios to an Etruscan deity of similar characteristics—namely, the deity Tages—not unlike the fusion of the Greek goddess of dawn, Eos, with the Etruscan Thesan. B. A. Sparkes, *The Red and the Black: Studies in Greek Pottery* (London: Routledge, 1996), 135–37, is also in favor of such a multilevel reading.

55. Herbig and Simon 1965, 30, pls. 47–49. For the sea creatures, see Shepard 1940. On the dolphins illustrated in the Tarquinian Tomb of Orcus, see Gallon-Sauvage 2005. For the significance of monsters in the Etruscan Underworld, see De Grummond 2006, 225–30, and her examples of marine and anguiped creatures on ash urns and wall paintings of the third century BCE. For a recent overview of the influence of Greek depictions of Nereus and Triton on the development of the Etruscan demonic figure, see V. Traficante, "Recezione e risemantizzazione in Etruria di modelli iconografici della ceramografia attica: Il caso di Nereo," in Giudice and Panvini 2003, 3:75–84.

56. De Grummond 2006, 186. For the political connotations of the myth of Theseus and the Minotaur in Etruria, and its use as

a political model by Servius Tullius in the sixth century BCE, see J.-R. Jannot, "Phersu, Phersuna, Persona: A propos du masque étrusque," in *Spectacles sportifs et scéniques dans le monde étrusco-italique, Actes de la table ronde organisée par l'Équipe de recherches étrusco-italiques de l'UMR 126 (CNRS, Paris) et l'École française de Rome, Rome, 3–4 mai 1991*, ed. J. P. Thuillier (Rome: EFA, 1993), 281–320.

57. Rawlings 2002, 243–45. On prophets and prophecy in Etruria, see Bonfante 2006, 49–54; N. De Grummond, "Prophets and Priests," in de Grummond and Simon 2006, 27–44.

58. On Peleus (Pele) and Meleager (Meleacr) on fourth-century BCE mirrors and later, see De Grummond 2006, 95, 193–95. Note that it is the myth of Peleus chasing Thetis that is most commonly reproduced in Etruscan art and depicted on Greek artifacts exported there (Osborne 2001, 281, 285); similarly, the episode of Meleager wrestling Atalanta is mostly recurrent in the repertory of later Etruscan mirrors (Bonfante 1986, 241). Equally familiar must have been the myth of Aias and Cassandra, which according to Osborne (2001, 280–81) was one of the themes found on vases from both Vulci and the Athenian Agora. On the hunt, see Barringer 2001, esp. for the relation of hunting to battle (15–32), the Kalydonian boar hunt (147–61), and the funerary connotations of the hunting motif in Greece and beyond (174–202).

59. Govi and Sassatelli (2004, 227–65) discuss a variety of subjects of Attic vase paintings, ranging from mythological episodes to floral ornaments, and the adoption of the same figure-types and topics on stelai. For Silenus in particular, see Steiner 2003, 51.

60. On Fufluns Pachies, see De Grummond 2006, 113–22. On satyrs in Etruscan iconography, see Haynes 2000, 306–8.

61. See, e.g., the bronze mirror from near Viterbo (ca. 470) and the third-century BCE bronze mirror cover: De Grummond 2006, 114–15, figs. VI.1–2.

62. Haynes 2000, 148; Bonfante 2006, 34–39, 74; De Grummond and Simon 2006, 58.

63. This ambiguity has led to similarly polyvalent readings by modern scholars, most notably in the case of departure scenes studied by Marconi 2004b and, with a different view, Osborne 2004a. On images of warriors departing, see Matheson 2005.

64. Livy 1.57.9; Plut. *Lyc. and Numa*, 3.5; Haynes 2000, 122–26 (discussing the Poggio Civitate frieze), 133, 149–52 (tombs reproducing houses). Also see Theopompos and Timaeus apud Atheneaus 12.517d–518a.

65. Based on an ongoing study of athletic scenes found in Etruria and produced by Greeks and Etruscans, I intend to argue elsewhere that illustrations of nude athletes were perceived in Etruria more as images of performers and less as images of contestants in an athletic event.

CHAPTER 13. LATE FIFTH-CENTURY ATTIC SCULPTURE AND THE CODRUS PAINTER

1. On Periclean Athens, see Plut. *Per.* 12.1–7; Camp 2001, 72–137; Hurwit 2004. On the cost of the Periclean building program, see Kallet 1998, esp. 48–52.

2. On the necessity of a parallel study of sculptural and painting styles, see Croissant 1999 with bibliography.

3. Pollitt 1972, 97–105; Harrison 1996.

4. Burn 1989. On the seductive qualities of the Nikai and

their diaphanous draperies on the balustrade of the Athena Nike Temple, see A. Stewart, *Art, Desire and the Body in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 128, 148.

5. Riezler (1907, esp. 23–25) dates the Codrus Painter to a rather high ca. 450; the beginning of Aison's career to ca. 440–438; and Aristophanes to the 430s.

6. Paus. 5.11.6; Pliny, *NH* 35.54, 57; Strabo 8.3.30. See also the discussion in Harrison 1996, 18–23.

7. Morgan (1962) points out that even though the painters of the late fifth century best reflect the motifs of the Hephaisteion frieze, the concept of this particular setting, with its bold figures and their relation to space, is evident in such earlier works as the vases by the Codrus Painter and the Penelope Painter. See also von den Hoff 2002, 335.

8. A detailed analysis of the iconographic program of the Parthenon is beyond the scope of this book; the reader is invited to consult the following works on the sculpture of the Parthenon: Hurwit 2001, 161–88; Neils 2005; Palagia 2005a, esp. 234–53. Since photographs of the Parthenon marbles can be easily accessed, no illustrations of the Parthenon frieze or metopes are included here. In addition to the works mentioned above, the studies of Berger (1986, 1996) and Brommer (1967, 1977) are amply illustrated and highly recommended.

9. E.g., Isler-Kerényi 1973, 30–31; Kron 1976, 63.

10. Schwab 1983, 231, 246, no. 50, pls. 232.2, 298; 2002, 293–96, pl. 77a; see Schwab 2005 for an overall discussion of the metopes.

11. For the difficulty of interpreting the scene presented on metopes S XIII–XXV, known only from Carrey's drawings, see Berger 1986, 91–93, pl. 112; Palagia 1993, 40 with bibliography; Pollitt 2000.

12. Palagia 1993, figs. 19–20, 35–36; Berger 1996, pl. 132 (E V 25).

13. Palagia 1993, fig. 47; Roccas 2000, 245–47.

14. Felten 1984, pls. 14–17; Berger 1986, 12–13, pls. 76–79 (S II–III).

15. On the tribal heroes, see Harrison 1979; Mattusch 1994.

16. N X right profile: Neils 2001, 143, fig. 105.

17. *Ibid.*, 159, fig. 121; Jenkins 1994, 77. On the frieze, see also Neils 2005, 199–223.

18. Found in a rescue excavation, the bearded head housed in Athens, Archaeological Collection of Kephisia, Inv. 22, may also be compared to the male figures of the Codrus Painter. It dates to 440–430 and awaits publication.

19. Neils 2001, 59, fig. 46.

20. Jenkins 1994, 62, 108; Berger 1996, pls. 20–22, 102–3.

21. Jenkins 1994, 80; Berger 1996, pls. 130–31, 136–37.

22. Jenkins 1994, 81; Berger 1996, pls. 138–39.

23. Berger 1986, 34–35.

24. Neils 2001, 104, fig. 75.

25. Recently on the Athena Parthenos statue, see Nick 2002; for a good summary, see Hurwit 2001, 187–88.

26. Harrison 1966; Harrison 1996, 43–48; see also Bothmer 1957, 209, pl. LXXXVII. Stefanidou-Tiveriou (1987) discusses Harrison's and Strocka's reconstructions and suggests a different identification for some figures. For the Piraeus reliefs, see Stefanidou-Tiveriou 1979.

27. See Harrison 1966, esp. 120–25 for the catalogue of the figures used in her reconstruction.

28. Camp 2001, 102–4.

29. The metopes must have been carved first, followed by the east frieze and shortly after that by the west. Reflections from the metopes can be found in the figures of the Theseus cup (cat. 16, pl. 5a–b) and the Chapel Hill cup (cat. 70, pl. 53a–c).

30. Suggestions include the battle of Theseus against the giant sons of Pallas and the battle of King Erichthonios against Amphiktyon and the Pelasgians. Felten (1984, 57–66) interprets the frieze as the battle of Greeks against Trojans by the river Skamander. For a discussion of the Hephaisteion in relation to the frieze of Poseidon's Temple at Sounion, see *ibid.*, 45, 55, fig. 18.1–2.

31. Dörig 1985, 67–68, 79, 81; see also Morgan 1962.

32. Dörig 1985, 62–63, figs. 63–64.

33. *Ibid.*, 65, fig. 65.

34. *Ibid.*, 49, figs. 52–53; 32, fig. 38.

35. *Ibid.*, 37, fig. 43; 38, fig. 47; 64, fig. 64a. The same figure-types are found in the youth in the fragment in the Sackler Museum in Cambridge (cat. 50) and the figure of Theseus battling the sow on the exterior of the cycle cup (cat. 16, pl. 7).

36. *Ibid.*, 10, figs. 14–16; 19, figs. 23–24; 23, figs. 27–29; 59, figs. 60–61.

37. The subjects of the friezes are highly debated. For the north, the proposed interpretations include the battle of Plataia, with Athenians fighting Boeotians, or combat between Greeks and Trojans; for the south, the Greeks overpowering the Persians at Marathon or Eumolpos and his Thracian allies fighting against Erechtheus; for the east, an assembly of gods or a mythic battle; for the west, Athenians against Corinthians (the battle of Megara in 458) or, again, Greeks against Trojans. For an evaluation and study of the frieze in relation to state policies, see Pember-ton 1972; Felten 1984, 123–31; Burn 1989; Knell 1990, 140–49. See also Palagia 2005b, 184–92, suggesting the birth of Athena as the subject of the east frieze. The choice of subjects to decorate the temple of Athena Nike as well as the specific episodes depicted on the frieze reflected contemporary political and historical events. For instance, the representation of the Greeks on the south frieze taking care of their dead, in contrast to the “barbarian” Persians, has been associated with the Thebans' refusal to let the Athenians take care of their fallen troops after the battle of Delion. A similar impious act forms the core of Euripides' *Suppliants*, based on the myth of Theseus' offering Eleusis as a burial place for the dead Argives. The play was probably performed in the spring of 423, a date that matches the chronology of the frieze of the Athena Nike Temple. Vase-painters were also influenced by these events, and it seems that they used the same myths as the tragedians to decorate their vases. On the manifold interpretations of the frieze as historical and mythological, see Hurwit 2004, 181–91, esp. 185–86 with bibliography. On the historical account of Delion, see Thuc. 4.97–98. Also see Harrison 1997. For the reflection of historical events in vase paintings and tragedies, see, e.g., Argeia and Theseus in the tondo of the Basel cup (cat. 15, pl. 9a). On vases and theater, see recently Taplin 2007.

38. Felten 1984, pls. 34–37; Harrison 1997, figs. 2–4.

39. Harrison 1997, esp. figs. 13–14.

40. A study of the literary and epigraphic sources along with the few remains of the Ilissos temple indicates that the frieze decorating the anonymous temple by the Ilissos river should be dated

to the 420s. Unfortunately, the poor state of preservation renders the sculpted scenes unintelligible for the most part, thus allowing ample room for interpretations that range from general battles scenes and the Herakleidai to the rape of the Leukippides and the Pelasgian invasion at Brauron. It appears that the sculptor of the Ilissos frieze incorporated into his representations a number of stock poses, not always bound together successfully. The warrior figures in particular are stylistically close to those on the Hephaisteion and the frieze of the Nike Temple. The spacious intervals between the figures are also reminiscent of monumental paintings and can be associated with compositions of the east and west friezes of the Nike Temple. From the scant information provided by copies and reproductions of the frieze on sarcophagi, it is evident that the relief decoration of the Ilissos temple enjoyed great popularity not only in the fifth century, but throughout antiquity: Picón 1978, esp. 52, 58–59, figs. 2, 10, 11; Miles 1980; Felten 1984, 70–79, pls. 20–21; McNeill (2005) interprets the scene as the sack of Troy, supported by Palagia (2005b, 177–84), who explains the scenes as the aftermath of the Trojan War.

41. Boulter 1970; Brouskari 1988, pls. 15–19. A more recent work on the Erechtheion and its cult character is Bakandritsou 2004. Based on these fragments, the subject of the frieze has been associated with myths related to Erichthonios, and perhaps the festival of Skirophoria: Papaspyridi-Karusu 1954/5, 91, n. 71. For an evaluation and study of the frieze in relation to state policies, see Felten 1984, esp. 114–17, pl. 32; Burn 1989; and more recently Harrison 2002. However, the technique employed on the frieze and the arrangement of the figures show the lasting effect of the cult statue bases produced by Phidias and his pupils. For the materials used for the Athena Parthenos cult statue base, the Hephaisteion base, and the base of the statue of Zeus in Olympia, see Kosmopoulou 2002, 236–45.

42. Kosmopoulou 2002, 111–12.

43. Palagia 2000, 53.

44. The materials of the background and the relief attachments are debated: white marble or Eleusinian dark stone was probably used for the background, and marble, gold, or gilt bronze for the figures: Harrison (1996, 48–51) maintains that if the figures were made of marble and then painted (as in the case of the Rhamnous base), then the base was probably the work of Alkamenes and not of Phidias. On the Parthenos statue and its base, see Leipen 1971, esp. 23–27; Hurwit 1995; Kosmopoulou 2002, 112–17, 236–40, no. 59.

45. Kosmopoulou 2002, 112–17, figs. 94–95.

46. Attempts to reconstruct the composition and the identity of the figures usually combine features of later copies and the account of Hesiod. Pandora must have been depicted in the center, standing frontally on a pedestal and flanked probably by Athena and Hephaistos. For illustrations of the myth of Pandora on vase paintings, see the Anesidora kylix, the white-ground cup by the Tarquinia Painter, and the red-figure krater by the Niobid Painter: LIMC VII Pandora, 163–66, nos. 1, 2 (M. Oppermann); Brommer 1978, 46. On the interpretation of the myth of Pandora on the statue base, see Palagia 2000, 21–22; Kosmopoulou 2002, 112–17. The subject of the Parthenos base seems to have inspired later works of art, such as some Neo-Attic reliefs: Becatti 1951, pls. 8, 11. However, the problem with the Neo-Attic reliefs is that even

though they do seem to derive from a fifth-century original and reproduce enough Phidian characteristics to connect them to the Parthenos base, not one of them actually represents Pandora. The reconstruction is further impeded by the fact that Pliny says a number of gods witnessed her birth, but he does not provide any names. There is also a stylistic matter: the figures reproduced on later copies all recall the work of Alkamenes (420 BCE) rather than the style of Phidias, even though the base was ready by 438. If we were to accept that Alkamenes was the final executor of the Parthenos base, the style of the drapery and the vivacity of the figures do not match the spirit of the 440s. It might be best to search for a later original for the Neo-Attic reliefs, perhaps another relief by Alkamenes. Alkamenes was also known for the colossal relief of Athena and Herakles dedicated at Thebes after 404/3 (Paus. 9.11.6).

47. On the workshop of Phidias and the pottery discovered in it, see A. Mallwitz and W. Schering, *Die Werkstatt des Phidias in Olympia*, *OlForsch* 5 (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1964), esp. 137–268; see 169, pl. 64, for “Phidias’ mug.”

48. Paus. 5.11.8–10; Harrison 1996, 59–64; Kosmopoulou 2002, 240–42.

49. The description of the gods on the statue base brings to mind the arrangement of the divine couples on the Divine Banquet cup (cat. 3, pl. 10).

50. The birth of Aphrodite decorates a white-ground pyxis by the Splanchnopt Painter (470 BCE), which depicts the goddess rising between Charis and Eros, while Peitho and Zeus and Hera perform a libation in front of an altar as they welcome her: LIMC II Aphrodite, 121, no. 1257 (A. Delivorrias). Palagia (2000, 60–62) argues that the choice of Aphrodite’s birth for the base was an allusion to the important cult of Aphrodite Ourania, daughter of Zeus, at Elis, whose chryselephantine statue was also a work of Phidias. The political connotations of such an approach are evident: although the sanctuary of Zeus in Olympia may well have been of Panhellenic fame and importance, it still remained within the sphere of Elean control.

51. Kosmopoulou 2002, 126–30, 242–44.

52. For the reconstruction of the base and the style of Alkamenes, see Harrison 1977.

53. Ibid., 265–66, figs. 1, 3.

54. Palagia (2000, 69–74) takes a different approach to the text of Pausanias and consequently to the reconstruction of the Hephaisteion statues. In her interpretation, the myth of the birth of Erichthonios is disassociated from the statue base, and the cult statues are reconstructed as a group of three, consisting of Athena in the type of Athena Cherkel (suggested already by Karouzou), Alkamenes’ Hephaistos, and Erichthonios. Under this premise, Palagia argues that the group mentioned in *Anth. Pal.* 9.590 as “Hephaistos, Athena, and Erechtheus” is the statuary group of Alkamenes.

55. Pallat 1941, no. 10, 203–24. Stylistically the reliefs are close to the work of Agorakritos, who probably formed the *paradeigmata*, the models after which all the figures were carved, thus providing homogeneity to the scene. A thorough study by Despinis (1971, 69–70, 166–67) identified several hands from his workshop, thus explaining the variety and uneven quality of the motifs. The reliefs of the base, even though they predate the voluminous, ex-

aggerated figures of the Nike frieze, are more developed than the cult statue.

56. Kosmopoulou 2002, 131–35, 244–48, figs. 101–4.

57. For the dimensions of the base see Despinis 1971, 70–71.

58. There are several suggestions regarding the identity of the four central female figures. The first figure wears an Attic peplos and lifts her mantle with her left hand, while the second wears an Argive peplos and the third a chiton and mantle. Only a veil is preserved from figure 9. These core figures and the ones around them have been variously identified with every new proposal. For example, Despinis (1971, 67–68) identified figures 6, 7, and 8 as, respectively, Helen, Leda, and Nemesis. Some scholars believe that Helen should be closer to her divine mother, not Leda, and therefore placed in the middle, while the fourth female figure has been interpreted as either Oinoe or Themis: Petrakos 1986, with bibliography; Karanastassis 1994. Alternatively, Lapatin (1992) interprets the whole base through the prism of the tragic fate of Helen and her earthly family and argues that Pausanias' phrase "Tyndareos and his children" should include all his children, both male (Dioskouroi) and female (Clytemnestra). On the other hand, Palagia (2000, 62–68) argues that the mythical encounter carved on the base takes place in Sparta during the wedding of Helen's daughter, Hermione, to Pyrrhos, the son of Achilles, and she identifies the fragmentary relief figures based on this premise. The aim of this approach is to prove that the Spartan heroine Helen was appropriated by the Athenians for their own benefit, as happened to Aias and Eurysakes as well.

59. Cf. the Codrus cup (cat. 1, pl. 1), Phrixos cup (cat. 4, pl. 15), and Basel cup (cat. 15, pl. 9). For Neanias, see the Basel cup. For the Dioskouroi, see the Phrixos cup (pl. 15b–c) and the Triton cup (cat. 18, pl. 14b–c).

60. Kosmopoulou 2002, 64–91.

61. E.g., the bases in Kosmopoulou 2002, nos. 54, 58, 59, 63, recall the setting and spirit of the Codrus Painter's athletes even though the style is evidently later than the Parthenonian period.

62. *Ibid.*, 92–110.

63. Angeliki Kosmopoulou (*ibid.*, 92, 98–99, figs. 70–72) interprets it through the prism of Pythagorean and Orphic religion and the promise of life after death. The fourth-century bases are usually decorated with warriors mounted on a horse and fighting against an already fallen opponent.

64. *Ibid.*, 175, figs. 27–28.

65. Only a few Attic Classical grave stelai can be illustrated here; see the catalogue of Clairmont 1993 for a full overview. Another category of relief decoration, document reliefs, were carved on the upper part of a stele carrying a public inscription, such as a treaty, inventory, or some other record. The figures on the document reliefs are associated with the parties mentioned in the inscription below and often consist of personifications, heroes, and patron deities. The nature of these reliefs and their late occurrence compared with the funerary and votive reliefs (the first Attic document reliefs are dated to 430–420) do not allow comparisons with the work of the Codrus Painter and his Circle. Still, one could single out the Rheitoi Bridge Decree from Eleusis, dated to 422/1, which shows Demeter and Kore to the left and Triptolemos with Athena to the right: Lawton 1995, 82, no. 3, pl. 2. The pose and drapery of the figures are similar to contemporary votive re-

liefs, such as the Copenhagen relief, but a similar figure-type is absent from the Codrus Painter's artistic vocabulary. Of the four deities, only the figure of Triptolemos could be associated with our painter, bringing to mind some of his athletic youths. The figure-type of the bearded man in proper civic dress was a favorite character of the Codrus Painter, and we see that it continues to enjoy popularity even on reliefs of the end of the century and later: e.g., on the Account of the Treasurers of Athena, a relief showing Athena and Demos/Erechtheus, dated to 410/9: Lawton 1995, 86–87, no. 8, pl. 5.

66. Stupperich 1977, 56–62.

67. E.g. the famous funerary oration by Pericles: Thuc. 2.34–46, esp. 41–42; for an excellent discussion of the historical, social, and cultural context of Athenian funerary rituals, see Oakley 2004, 215–31.

68. On the role of heroes and heroines in the protection of the city and the citizen body, see Kearns 1989, 44–63; Kearns 1990; Kron 1999.

69. Oakley 2004, 88–144, 218–23.

70. On the Asklepios reliefs, see Hausmann 1948. On the Athenian Asklepieion and its dedications, see Aleshire 1989.

71. Stupperich 1977, 64–183, 185–89, 239; 1994, 96. Also see Schäfer 1997, esp. 19–28, and his appendix on reliefs with hunting scenes, warriors, and horsemen.

72. Boardman 1985, 68, fig. 57.

73. Cf. the Parthenon frieze W III, W XII, and N XLVII: Neils 2001, 102–3, 129, figs. 73, 74, 90; see also Jenkins 1994, 102, 105, 109, whence perhaps the prototype for the scraping athlete type found on cups (e.g., cat. 24, pl. 34; cat. 25, pl. 40b; cat. 26, pl. 41a).

74. Clairmont 1993, 1:235–37 (1.081): attributed perhaps to the Krito Sculptor; Stroczeck 2002, 468–72; Oakley and Neils 2003, 174–76.

75. Also cf. cat. 65, pl. 62; cat. 89, pl. 60a–b.

76. Clairmont 1993, 1:408–9 (1.686).

77. Since the Cambridge cup (cat. 54, pl. 23) gives us one precedent in Attic art before the end of the century, based on the rendering of the figure's drapery and skin, one may identify the Berlin relief as an Attic work of ca. 430. The combination of incised and relief folds betrays a particular care and interest in drapery, but it does not necessarily imply an Ionian artist.

78. Boeotian under Attic influence: Ridgway 1981, 148–49.

79. Reeder 1995, 122, 137, no. 6.

80. Athens, Nat. M., Inv. 4551: Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, 396–99, no. 452; Maischberger and Heilmeyer 2002, 215, fig. 5. Note the motif of the warrior setting one foot on a rock; cf. the Greek on the Amazonomachy cup (cat. 93, pl. 19) and on the Battlefield cup (cat. 92, pl. 31b).

81. Clairmont 1993, 1:255–56 (1.194).

82. *Ibid.*, 1:232 (1.030), probably from Menidi (Acharnai).

83. *Ibid.*, 1:241–42 (1.153).

84. See, e.g., cat. 5, pl. 24; cat. 6, pl. 25; cat. 15, pl. 9a–c; Clairmont 1993, 1:267 (1.215); Boardman 1985, fig. 161.

85. Clairmont 1993, 2:84–85 (2.121).

86. Clairmont (*ibid.*, 2:104–6 [2.156]) addresses the issue of a lower date for the stele.

87. Cf. Polydeukes and the youth leading a horse on the Phrixos

cup (cat. 4, pl. 15b–c), the warriors on the Cassandra cup (cat. 19, pl. 16b–c), the athlete on the cup in the Louvre (cat. 30, pl. 58b), and the youth performing a libation in the tondo of the Ferrara cup (cat. 36, pl. 57a).

88. Athens, Nat. M., Inv. 910: Clairmont 1993, 1:232–33 (1.050). The relief is grouped with five more pieces as products of the same sculptor, possibly Alkamenes.

89. Kerameikos Museum P 685: Clairmont 1993, 1:240–41 (1.152); for a comparison with a Parthenon figure, see Neils 2001, 129, fig. 90.

90. See the study of Comella 2002.

91. See pp. 43–46; Avramidou 2006.

92. Boardman 1985, fig. 144; Simon (1998) identifies the youth as Demophon, while Clinton and Palagia (2003) bring more evidence to support naming the figure Ploutos.

93. Mitropoulou 1977, 33, no. 34, fig. 54; Comella 2002, 77, fig. 71.

94. Mitropoulou 1977, 45–46, no. 67, fig. 105; Moltensen 1995, 132–33 (Inv. 1430). The dating of the relief is not unanimous and ranges from 420 to 370/360. See also Comella 2002, 74, fig. 66. The figures have not been identified satisfactorily. They are thought to be: (a) Asklepios, Hygeia, Epione, and Machaon; (b) Demeter and Kore flanked by Triptolemos and Asklepios/Plouton; or (c) Demeter and Kore flanked by two Attic tribal heroes.

95. Such as Athens, Nat. M., Inv. 3278: Kaltsas 2001, 131, no. 249; Inv. 1349: *ibid.*, no. 250.

96. Simon 1982a, esp. 130. Also on the relationship between the iconography of cavalrymen and the reforms of Pericles, see Hurwit 2007.

97. Respectively Athens, Nat. M., Inv. 828: Kaltsas 2001, 99, no. 177; Inv. 1385: *ibid.*, 102, no. 181; Inv. 1394: *ibid.*, 131, no. 250; Inv. 835: *ibid.*, 150, no. 290. See also Langenfass-Vuduroglou 1973.

98. The Melian relief is dated ca. 440: Schefold 1989, 305, fig. 361. For the Sosias and Sosippos reliefs, see *LIMC* VII Theseus, 949, no. 322 (J. Neils); Comella 2002, 60–61, fig. 51.

99. *LIMC* VII Theseus, 923, no. 1.

100. A good example of such an exchange, albeit in a later period, comes from Northern Renaissance art, and particularly a dispute involving painters and tapestry-weavers in fifteenth-century CE Brussels. The painters accused the weavers of making patterns on paper with charcoal and chalk without their approval and were eventually victorious in their claim: S. Nash, *Northern Renaissance Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 52–53. If the exchange of patterns and figure-types was easily achieved in a society strictly regulated by guilds and schools, then it should be considered almost certain for fifth-century Athens.

CHAPTER 14. OVERVIEW OF THE WORK OF THE CODRUS PAINTER

1. Phidias must have introduced the concept of the group monument to the eponymous heroes, the ten legendary figures who gave their names to the tribes of Athens. He was the creator of the homonymous statue group dedicated in Delphi. Another group of eponymous heroes in the center of Athens, in the Agora, is first mentioned in 424 BCE. The group is also thought to be represented on the east frieze of the Parthenon. See Matusch 1994, esp. 74–77.

2. The Codrus Painter's repertory does not include topics such as the Gigantomachy, Centauromachy, and Amazonomachy (except for cat. 93, pl. 19, attributed to a painter who recalls his work), which are found en masse in other arts and particularly in sculpture. Despite his close ties to the Phidian workshop, some of the great sculptor's favorite motifs are absent from the vase-painter's agenda. For example, there is no representation of Helios and Selene (note, however, that their depictions are rare in general), while the limited occurrence of Athena on his cups is striking. Dionysos, Poseidon, and Apollo are some of the gods represented on his vases, but except for the Divine Banquet cup (cat. 3, pl. 10), no other composition consisting solely of deities is attributed to the painter, his Circle, or his Manner. Herakles too is almost completely absent from his repertory, with the exception of the homonymous cup in Ferrara (cat. 22, pl. 22).

APPENDIX. KALOS NAMES AND OTHER INSCRIPTIONS

1. Immerwahr 1990, 113–14, and 134, 136, 146 for the letter forms; Lezzi-Hafter 1988, 288, for a comparison with letters on vases by the Eretria Painter.

2. Lezzi-Hafter (1988, 288) comments on the experimentation with letter forms on the Erichthonios cup (cat. 2, pl. 3).

3. For the amphora by Euthymides (ARV² 27, 3) and the Nolan amphora attributed to the Group of Polygnotos (ARV² 1059, 126), see Johnston 1979, 90, nos. 2B.12 and 2B.30, figs. 3s and y.

4. See also pp. 40–42 in this volume.

5. Schmidt 1998.

6. ARV² 1571–72.

7. Mencacci and Zecchini 1976, 210–13, figs. 89–91; Colonna 1985, 170, no. 9.5.

8. ARV² 1578, 1595–96.

9. For Autolykos, see Kyle 1987, 198 (A12); pp. 62–63 in this volume.

10. See Olmos 1992, 1–50.

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INDEX

- Account of the Treasurers of Athena, 215n65
 Achaïos of Eretria, *Linos*, 56
 Achilles, 29, 40, 44, 55, 56
 Acropolis, 78, 209n33
 Acropolis fragment (cat. 7, pl. 4), 23, 73, 74, 193n8 (ch. 4), 197n70
 Aegina, 201n164
 Aeschylus: *Agamemnon*, 46; *Argive Women*, 41; *Eleusinioi*, 201n169; *Eumenides*, 39; *Suppliants*, 54; Theban tetralogy, 41
 afterlife: Etruscan beliefs about, 70; Etruscan iconography of, 68
 Agakles, 208n10
 Agathokles relief, 210n44
 Aglauros, 33
 Agora, 78, 216n1
 Agora cup, 37
 Agorakritos, 71, 76, 77, 81, 214n55
 Agrigento Painter, 58
 Aias, 41, 49, 212n58; depicted on Codrus cup, 31–33
 Aigeus, 40, 47, 73, 78, 81, 199n126; depicted on Codrus cup, 31–33; depicted on Erichthonios cup, 33–36; depicted on Themis cup, 39–40
 Ainetos, 196n36; depicted on Codrus cup, 31–33
 Aison, 3–6, 11, 16, 28, 30, 37, 38, 192n29, 192n32, 194n22, 194n31, 195n25, 197n64, 198n100, 209n22; and acroterion palmette type, 14, 192n9 (ch. 2); and Codrus Painter and Meidias Painter, 29–30. *See also* Compare to Codrus Painter and Aison; Painter between Aison and Codrus Painter; Recalls Aison
 Aita (Hades), 68
 Aithra, 58; and Athena Apatouria, 195n19; depicted on Codrus cup, 32
 Akamas, 49
 Alcimachos Painter, 207n50
 Alkamenes, 35, 71, 76, 77, 214n44, 214n46
 Alkmaionids, 32, 41
Alkmaionis, 202n34
 Altenburg cup (cat. 12, pl. 27), 23, 192n5 (ch. 4)
 Amazonomachy, 73, 74, 205n54, 216n2
 Amazonomachy cup (cat. 93, pl. 19), 5, 11, 12, 26, 74, 215n80; iconography of, 50–51
 Amazons, 31, 32, 33, 50–51, 55, 56; mounted, 51
 Amphitrite, 202n19; depicted on Divine Banquet cup, 43–46
 Ampurias, as market, 66
 Ampurias Athletes fragment (cat. 41, pl. 38), 5, 25
 Ampurias fragment (cat. 43, pl. 51), 4, 5, 25, 63
 Ampurias Nike cup (cat. 29, pl. 33), 5, 24, 209n12
 Ampurias tondo fragment (cat. 48, pl. 68), 25
 Amymone, 29
 Anarrhysis, 208n25
andres agathoi, 78
anodos scenes, 50
 Anthesteria, 35, 53, 54, 64
Anthologia Palatina 9.590, 214n54
 Apatouria festival, 58–59, 195n19, 208n25
 Aphrodite, 50, 197n70, 202n20; birth of, 50, 77; depicted on Divine Banquet cup, 43–46; and Ourania/Iris, 212n52, 214n50
 Apodyterion cup (cat. 24, pl. 34), 3, 8, 24, 25, 191n15, 193n19, 210n45, 210n46; athletic scene, 62; as kylix type B, 22
 Apollo, 41, 46, 200n162, 203n52; sanctuary of (Delphi), 199n137; temple of (Bassai), 75
 Apollonios, *Argonautica* 4.1732–1745, 47
apokopeuein gesture, 17, 54, 206n44
 Apulia, as market, 66
 Arafat, Karim, 67
 archaeological record, 5–6
 archaizing elements, 29
 archer, depiction of, 25
 Ares, 202n20; depicted on Divine Banquet cup, 43–46
 Argeia, 74, 200n156, 207n17; depicted on Basel cup, 40–42
 Argonauts, 62, 203n9, 209n18; depicted on Triton cup, 47–48
 Argos, 201n164
 Ariadne, 25, 202n21; depicted on Dionysos cup, 52–53; depicted on Divine Banquet cup, 43–46
 Arion, 54
 Aristogeiton pose, 38, 199n113
 Aristophanes (painter), 4, 30, 83
 Aristophanes, *Birds*, 34
 Aristotle, 54; *Athēnaion Politeia*, 208n26; *Poetics*, 37, 46, 196n28
 Arkesilaos IV, 48
arkteia initiation rites, 46
 Artemidoros, *Oneirocritica*, 45
 Artemis, 45, 46, 66, 73, 77, 80, 81
 Artemis Brauronia, sanctuary of, 46, 203n52
 Artemision, bronze statue of Zeus, 38

- Asklepios, 79
Astarita cup (cat. 10A, pl. 17), 4, 20, 23, 77; iconography of, 49–50
Athamas, 48
Athena, 34, 38, 50; depicted on Codrus cup, 31–33; depiction of cult statue, 49; and Herakles, 69; in myth of Erichthonios, 33–36, 35, 197n70
Athena and Hephaistos temple, 75
Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, 201n7, 208n8
Athena Lemnia, 32
Athena Lenormant, 74, 76
Athena Nike Temple, 29, 51, 75, 213n37
Athena Parthenos, 29, 50, 51, 74, 76
Athena Polias, 32–33, 76
Athenian Agora, 37
Athenians, temple of (Delos), 197n52
Athenian Treasury (Delphi), 205n54
Athens: and Corinth, 32; as findspot of vases, 28; and hoplite ideal, 60; as major artistic center, 78; as naval power, 49; under Pericles, 23, 35, 53–54, 71, 83; political realities, 31, 78; and return of soldiers' bodies, 79; and Sparta, 32; sport in, 61. *See also* Athens, myth and tradition of; autochthony, Athenian
Athens, myth and tradition of, 39, 41, 46, 48, 49, 61, 71–72, 79, 83, 197n55; on Codrus cup, 31–33; as popular subject in the arts, 35; on Theseus cup, 36–39
athletes, depictions of, 61–65, 82
athletic competitions, 61
athletic scenes, 24, 25, 26, 28, 61–65, 79, 83, 212n65; Codrus Painter and, 13–14, 21, 23, 61–62; Etruscan reception of, 70; generic, 64–65; javelin throwing, jumping, and combat sports, 63–64; torch races and musical contests, 64; victors and athletes after training, 62–63
Attica, as findspot of vases, 28
Attic vase painting, polysemic value of, 68–70
Attic vases, function of, in Greek and Etruscan cultures, 67–68
autochthony, Athenian, 31–36, 35, 61, 73, 76, 79, 197n49
Autolykos, 63, 86
banquet scenes, Etruscan, 45, 67–68, 211n34
Barresi, Sebastiano, 66
Basel Athletes cup (cat. 25, pl. 40), 24, 27, 62, 73, 75, 193n34, 209n13, 209n19
Basel cup (cat. 15, pl. 9), 5, 12, 24, 26, 27, 48, 78, 80, 81, 193n17, 207n2, 207n17, 209n12, 215n59; iconography of, 40–42; sculptural influence on, 74, 75
Basel Market cup (cat. 107), dissociated from Codrus Painter and Circle, 20–21, 27
Basile, 34, 197n60
Basileia, 34
Basilinna, 53
Basseggio (dealer), 4
Battlefield cup (cat. 92, pl. 31), 12, 215n80; battle scenes, 59–60, 80; as Near Codrus Painter, 26; palmette type IVa, 16; sculptural influence on, 74, 75, 76
battle scenes, 59–60, 80, 81
Beazley, Sir John, 3, 4, 5, 18, 20, 26, 27, 46, 50, 52, 58, 67
Berger, Ernst, 5, 41
Berlin cup (cat. 88, pl. 43), 3, 11, 26, 63, 75
Bielefeld, Erwin, 57
birth scenes, 33–36. *See also* divine births; Erichthonios
Black Sea, as market, 66
Boardman, J., 18, 51
Bonfante, Larissa, 68
Bothmer, D. von, 51
boxing, 63; as Etruscan sport, 61
Braun, Emil, 4
Brauron, 203n52
Brauron cup (cat. 20, pl. 11), 5, 24, 66, 80, 81, 193n12; iconography of, 46; sculptural influence on, 73, 74
breakage, of Codrus cup, 4. *See also* cup fragments
Bremen cup (cat. 81, pl. 64), 65
Briseis Painter, 47
British Museum Athletes cup (cat. 44, pl. 48), 3, 25, 63
Brussels cup (cat. 45, pl. 50), 25, 63
Brygos, tradition of, 22
Burn, Lucilla, 5, 34–35, 55, 56
Cahn, Herbert, 58
Calliope Painter, 5, 29, 37, 66, 198n102, 210n9
Cambridge Athletes cup (cat. 68, pl. 45), 12, 27, 63, 209n32, 210n39; as Manner of Codrus Painter, 19–20, 25; palmette type IIIc, 15
Cambridge cup (cat. 54, pl. 23), 17, 25, 56, 79, 193n3, 194n9, 194n10, 206n31, 215n77; iconography of, 55–56; as kylix type B, 22
Campana Collection, 5, 50
Campania, as market, 66
Canino, Prince de (Lucien Bonaparte), 4
Cape Town cup (cat. 72, fig. 3.4), 5, 22, 63; as Manner of Codrus Painter, 25; as Near Codrus Painter, 18–19
Carpenter, Thomas, 43
Cassandra, 49, 212n58
Cassandra cup (cat. 19, pl. 16), 4, 6, 20, 24, 57, 80, 193n19, 200n143, 209n25, 216n87; iconography of, 49; and monumental painting, 83; palmette type IIIa, 15; sculptural influence on, 73
Castelvenere cup (cat. 26, pl. 41), 24, 62, 193n34, 209n13
Castor and Polydeukes, 48
cave, of Buca di Castelvenere, 62
Ceglie, as market, 66
Ceglie cup (cat. 63, pl. 61), 25, 26, 193n24, 210n46; as kylix type C, 22
Centauromachy, 73, 216n2
Cerveteri, 49, 67
Chaeredemos, 80
Chapel Hill cup (cat. 70, pl. 53), 4, 19, 25, 213n29; athletic scenes, 64; as kylix type B, 22; sculptural influence on, 74
checkerboard motif, 16
Chianciano, 68
children, depiction of, 35
Chiusi, 45, 61, 65, 67, 68, 211n37
chorus, 55
chous (Kerameikos), 29. *See also* Oxford chous
chronology, of work of Codrus Painter, 23–25
Circle of Codrus Painter, 10, 25–27, 50, 57, 64, 196n43, 198n99, 207n4; associated with type B kylikes, 22
Circle of Eretria Painter, 22, 26
Circle of Heimarme Painter, 204n18
Circle of Meidias Painter, 30
Class of Naples 2618, 22
Codrus, 3, 194n3, 195n5; depicted on Codrus cup, 31–33
Codrus cup (cat. 1, pl. 1), 4, 5, 24, 71, 76, 78, 80, 81, 193n5, 194n18, 200n143, 207n18, 210n4, 215n59; discovery and provenance of, 4, 79; Etruscan reception of, 70; iconography of, 31–33; as kylix type B, 22; mythological subjects, 23; sculptural influence on, 73
Codrus Painter, 194n31; and Aison and Meidias Painter, 29–30, 194n22; career phase I, 23; career phase II, 23–25; career phase III, 25; and contemporaries, 28–30; and Eretria Painter, 28–29; Etruscan reading of his work, 68–70; and Group of Polygnotus, 30; number of vases attributed to, 4–5; overview of, 83–84; repertory of, 28; as specialist in cup painting, 210n9; stylistic and chronological arrangement of work, 23–25

- comedy, and satyr plays, 54
- Compare/Near/Recalls (Codrus Painter), 11. *See also* Circle of Codrus Painter; Manner of Codrus Painter; Near Codrus Painter
- Compare to Codrus Painter and Aison, 26
- competition, among potters and painters, 30
- Copenhagen cup (cat. 58, pl. 46), 25, 63
- copies, of cups by Codrus Painter, 5
- Corfu, 54
- Corinth, 32, 201n164
- cult statue bases, as sculptural influence, 76–78
- Cumae: destroyed by Samnites, 5; as market, 66
- Cumae cup (cat. 89, pl. 60), 26, 65
- cup fragments, 48, 49–50; Basel (cat. 14), 22, 23, 52; Copenhagen (cat. 51, pl. 39), 5; Florence (cat. 13, pl. 12), 193n7 (ch. 4); Louvre, 34
- cups: British Museum E81, 4; Cambridge (cat. 98, pl. 73), 5, 26; Christchurch (cat. 49), 5; Enserune (cat. 61, pl. 13), 203n49; Euergides, 210n53; Ferrara (cat. 90, pl. 69), 26, 193n30; Florence (cat. 32, pl. 36), 24, 26, 62; Florence (cat. 67, pl. 44), 63, 75; Florence (cat. 106, pl. 78), 26; Ghent (cat. 104, pl. 76), 26, 210n42; Greifswald (cat. 103, pl. 75), 16, 26; Madrid (pl. 7), 4; Münster (cat. 55, pl. 42), 193n34; Naples (cat. 33), 4; Olbia (cat. 80), 67; Philadelphia market (cat. 84), 64; Rome (cat. 91), 26; Ullastret (cat. 73), 4, 209n32
- cups, popularity and influence of, 4, 11
- cycle cups, 36–39, 193n7 (ch. 5). *See also* Theseus Cycle cup
- Cypro-jug, 210n2, 212n47
- Cyprus, as findspot of vases, 28
- Cyrene, 48
- Damophon, 49
- dating, of work of Codrus Painter, 5–6
- Davies, Glenys, 69
- death: symbolism of, 65; and the symposium, 45. *See also* funerary banquets; funerary games; funerary monuments, influence of; funerary orations; funerary reliefs; grave offerings
- de Cesare, Monica, 69
- decoration, of export vases, 67
- dedicatory relief bases, influence of, 78
- Delphic Oracle, 32, 37, 39, 47
- Demeter, 34, 44, 46, 80–81
- Demosion Sema, 59–60
- Dentzer, Jean-Marie, 45
- departure scenes, 21, 23, 24, 28, 31, 57–60, 70, 74, 83, 208n26; on Battle-field cup, 59–60; on Cassandra cup, 49; on Castelvenera cup, 62; on Codrus cup, 31–33; on ex-Charterhouse cup, 58–59; on Naples cup, 58; on Phrixos cup, 48–49; on Triton cup, 47–48; on Zurich cup, 58
- dexiosis (handshake) motif, 69, 79, 81
- Diakria, 196n35
- Dinos Painter, 30, 83, 193n16, 194n31, 198n95, 209n14
- Dionysiac scenes, 23, 24, 25, 28, 30, 44, 52–56, 65, 70, 83; on Cambridge cup, 55–56; on Dionysos cup, 52–53; on Herakles cup, 54–55; on Oxford chous, 17, 56. *See also* satyr plays
- Dionysian festivals, as occasion for satyr plays, 54
- Dionysos, 25, 52–56, 73, 202n21; associations with fertility, death, and immortality, 45; as chthonic deity, 44; depicted on Divine Banquet cup, 43–46; and Hades, 202n25
- Dionysos cup (cat. 53, pl. 21), 5, 25, 52, 193n13; Etruscan reception of, 70; as kylix type B, 22
- Dionysos festival (Athens), 65
- Dioskouroi, 40, 47, 48–49, 78, 204n23
- Disney Painter, 29
- divination, 39, 199n129; Etruscans and, 70
- divine assemblies, 43–46
- Divine Banquet cup (cat. 3, pl. 10), 3, 4, 5, 24, 25, 27, 80, 193n9 (ch. 4), 193n10, 211n34, 214n49, 216n2; bearded figures, 19; depiction of hair, 8; Etruscan reception of, 70; iconography of, 43–46; as kylix type B, 22; mythological subjects, 23; palmette type I, 14; sculptural influence on, 74
- divine births, 50, 76–78
- document reliefs, 215n65
- Dörig, José, 75
- Dorpia, 208n25
- dramatic performances, as design influence, 29, 41, 50, 53–55
- drawing, of Codrus Painter, 7–10, 62, 83
- Dresden cup (cat. 71, fig. 3.3), 12, 22, 64–65; as Manner of Codrus Painter, 18, 25
- drinking cups: as dominant shape, 210n11; as specialization of Codrus Painter, 22. *See also* cups
- dromos*, 68
- Ducati, Pericle, 4
- Dugas, Charles, 4
- Duke cup (cat. 65, pl. 62), 25, 65, 209n26
- Dwarf Painter, 65, 210n53
- EKDN workshop, 22
- elderly men, Codrus Painter's depiction of, 8, 10
- Eleusinian triad relief, 64
- Elysian Fields, 45
- Enserune, as market, 66
- Enserune cup (cat. 62, pl. 63), 65, 210n47
- Eos, and Turan, 212n52
- ephebeia*, 59
- ephebes, 33, 41, 59, 63, 79, 81, 208n26
- Ephialtes, 81
- Epimetheus, 50
- Epitaphia, 64
- Erechtheion, 81; sculptural influence of, 76, 79
- Erechtheus, 73, 76, 197n49; depicted on Erichthonios cup, 33–36; and Theseus, 35
- Eretria Painter, 5, 6, 22, 28–29, 66, 83, 192n9 (ch. 3), 192n31, 192n32, 192n33, 207n16, 210n9. *See also* workshop of Eretria Painter
- Eriboia, 41, 42, 74, 201n166, 209n12
- Erichthonios: birth of, 33–36, 50, 69, 77, 197n69, 197n70; myth of, 34, 35, 36, 69, 73, 197n75, 212n52; and Tages, 212n52
- Erichthonios cup (cat. 2, pl. 3) (Corneto cup), 3, 4, 5, 21, 24, 76, 81, 193n5, 193n12, 210n4; bearded figures on, 19; discovery of, 79; iconography of, 33–36; as kylix type B, 22; mythological subjects, 23; sculptural influence on, 73, 75, 77; tondo band, 16
- Erigone, 65
- Eriphyle, 41
- Eros, 65
- Etruria, Attic vases in, 3, 28, 30, 35–36, 38–39, 52, 61, 66–70, 84, 201n166, 203n41, 203n42, 211n17, 212n50
- Etruscan art, 212n58; and absence of Plouton, 44; and banquet scenes, 68, 211n34
- Etruscan market, 3, 28, 30, 35–36, 38–39, 52, 61, 66–70, 84, 201n166, 203n41, 203n42, 211n17, 212n50
- Etruscans: and cult of Dionysos, 44, 52; and cult of Herakles (Hercle), 55, 70; early contact with Greeks, 69; as “exotic foreigners,” 212n48; and funerary banquets, 45, 67–69, 211n36; funerary customs of, 61, 65; and sport, 61; and Theseus cycle, 38–39
- Etruscan thought, 212n52, 212n56
- Etruscan tombs, 68, 211n23. *See also* names of specific tombs
- Euenor, 31, 72
- Euergides Painter, 65
- Eumelos, 196n30
- Euphemos, 47

- Eupheros, as figure-type, 79
 Euphronios, 69
 Eupolis, 63
 Euripides, 48; *Andromache*, 54; *Autolykos*, 56; *Bousiris*, 56; *Cyclops*, 54; *Heracles*, 54; *Herakleidai*, 201n169; *Hippolytos*, 207n54; *Ion*, 41, 197n69; *Medea*, 32, 39; satyr play, 63; *Suppliants*, 41, 58, 200n156, 200n160, 201n169, 213n37; *Theseus*, 207n53
 Eurysakeion, 31
 Eustathius, *Ad Odysseam*, 202n19
 Euthymides, 216n3
 exchange of models, 82
 ex-Charterhouse cup (cat. 94, pl. 30), 12, 27, 81, 192n9 (ch. 2); hoplite scene, 58–59; as kylix type B, 22; as Near Codrus Painter, 26; sculptural influence on, 73
 export market, for Attic pottery, 62, 210n2, 210n9, 210n11, 211n13, 211n17. *See also* Etruscan market
- family scenes, 43–46
 farewell gesture, 200n153
 female scenes: associated with Meidias Painter, 29; pet herons in, 55. *See also* women
 Ferrara Athletes cup (cat. 36, pl. 57), 4, 18, 25, 27, 64, 79, 193n34, 199n121, 210n46, 216n87
 figure-types, 215n65; exchange of, 79–80; female, 80; used by Codrus Painter, 13, 24, 27, 29, 47, 65, 73–74, 79, 200n156. *See also* human figure
 findspots, of vases, 28, 30. *See also* Etruscan market
 fingers, Codrus Painter's depiction of, 8–9
 five-figure group, 23, 25, 31, 40
 floral decoration. *See* palmettes
 foreign market, 84. *See also* Etruscan market
 foundation heroes, 79
 France, as market, 66
 François krater, 42
 Fufluns, 44
 Fufluns Pachies (Dionysos Bacchus), 44, 70
 function, of Attic vases in Greek and Etruscan cultures, 67
 funerary banquets, 45–46; Etruscan, 45, 67–68, 211n36
 funerary games, 61
 funerary monuments, influence of, 78–80
 funerary orations, 35
 funerary reliefs, 59–60, 78, 80, 81
 Furtwängler, Adolf, 3, 4
- Gantz, Timothy, 44
 Ganymede, 24; depicted on Divine Banquet cup, 43–44
 garments, depicted by Codrus Painter, 10
 Ge, 197n70; depicted on Divine Banquet cup, 33–36
 Geddes, A. G., 65
 Geneva Athletes cup (cat. 95, pl. 56), 11, 12, 26, 64, 210n42
 Gerhard, Eduard, 3
 German Institute in Rome, 4
 gestures, 79; *apokopeuein*, 17, 54, 206n44; Codrus Painter's depiction of, 8–9; farewell, 200n153; handshake motif (dexiosis), 69, 79, 81
 Gigantomachy, 47, 73, 74, 216n2
 Giudice, Filippo, 66
 Glauke, 42, 200n164
 Göttermahlreliefs, 43
 grave offerings, 36, 38, 65
 Great Dionysia, 54
 Green, J. Richard, 56
 Greifenhagen, Adolf, 56
 Group of Polygnotos. *See* Polygnotos Group
- gymnasia, Athenian, 61
gymnikoi agones, 59
- Hades, 68
 hairstyles, depiction of, 21; by Circle of Codrus Painter, 11; by Codrus Painter, 8, 20, 43
 handshake motif (dexiosis), 69, 79, 81
 Harmodios pose, 38, 199n113
 Harmonia, 202n20
 Harrison, Evelyn, 74
 Harrow cup (pl. 6), 4, 37, 38, 198n100, 199n121
 Harrow Painter, 205n10
 Hauser, Friedrich, 4, 40
 Helen, 49, 50, 215n58; birth of, 204n41
 Helios, 73, 76, 77
 Helle, 48–49
 Hephaisteia, 64
 Hephaisteion, 35, 37, 38, 75, 76, 77, 81, 209n33, 213n7, 214n40
 Hephaistos, 44, 50, 64, 75, 77; depicted on Erichthonios cup, 33–36
 Hera, 8, 75, 77, 203n52; depicted on Divine Banquet cup, 43–46
 Herakles, 49, 54, 55, 57, 73, 208n35, 209n33; and Athena, 69; as Heracle, 55, 70; and Kerberos, 38–39; and satyr plays, 206n32
 Herakles cup (cat. 22, pl. 22), 5, 24, 194n9, 208n35; anatomical details, 17; Etruscan reception of, 70; iconography of, 54–55; as kylix type B, 22; sculptural influence on, 73
Herakles Satyricus I, 54–55
Herakles Satyricus II, 54–55
 Hermes, 34, 44, 48, 50, 54, 57, 77, 78
 Hermes Psychopompos, 78
 Hermitage Torch Race cup (cat. 105, pl. 55), 12, 27, 64, 81; as kylix type B, 22
 Hermonax, 44
 Herodotus, 47, 61, 195n24, 204n10
 heroes, local, 23, 35, 41, 46, 58, 76–79, 81. *See also* Athens, myth and tradition of
 herons, 55
 Heroön of Iphigeneia, 203n49
 Herse, 33–36, 81, 196n45
 Hesiod, 214n46
 hetairai, 65
 Hieron, tradition of, 14, 22, 28
hieros gamos, 53, 206n19
hippotrophia, 59
 Hölscher, Fernando, 53
 Homer, 39, 202n20; *Iliad*, 49
Homeric Hymn to Demeter, 201n8
 hoplite representations, 57–60
 hoplites, 26, 31, 33, 57–60, 208n26
 hoplite warfare, 59
 Hoppin, Joseph, 4
 Hornbostel, Wilhelm, 20
 horos stones, 197n74
 horse race, 59
 horse riding, 58–59
 horses of Diomedes, 57
 Hudeczek, Erich, 37
 human figure: depicted by Circle of Codrus Painter, 12; depicted by Codrus Painter, 7–9, 14, 20; depicted by Manner of Codrus Painter, 18, 20; depicted by Near Codrus Painter, 19. *See also* male figure; women
 hunter, depiction of, 25
 hunting scenes, 70, 74, 81; on Themis cup, 39–40
 hydriai, 65
 hypogaeum (Ceglie del Campo, Taras), 6

- Iberia, as market, 210n11
 Ilissos temple, 213n40; sculptural influence, 58, 75–76
 image-making, in Athens, 71–72
 imitations, 30
 individuality, of Attic vase-painters, 7
 influence network, among vase-painters, 28. *See also* teacher-pupil relationship
 Ino, 48
 inscriptions, 25, 62, 77, 83; on Astarita cup, 50; on Basel cup, 40; on Cassandra cup, 49; on Dionysos cup, 53; on Divine Banquet cup, 43; on Erichthonios cup, 33; lack of, for Codrus Painter's name, 84; lack of, in heroic warrior scenes, 31, 47; on Themis cup, 39–40. *See also* kalos inscriptions
 Ion, *Omphale*, 207n58
 Iphigeneia, 203n52
 Iris, 73
 Iris Love Collection, 65
 Isler-Kerényi, Cornelia, 5, 67
 Italy, distribution of Attic figurative pottery in, 66
- Jason, 47–48, 209n18
 joint finds, 6, 28
 “jumping” Amazon pose, 51
- Kadmos Painter, 47, 55, 202n17, 206n39
 Kallithea base, 78
 kalos inscriptions, 28, 63, 200n148, 209n15; by Codrus Painter, 25
 Kalydonian boar hunt, 40
 Kefalidou, Eurydike, 62
 Kekropids, 197n70, 197n75; depicted on Erichthonios cup, 33–36
 Kekrops, 73, 75; depicted on Erichthonios cup, 33–36
 Kekrops Painter, 209n36
 Kephalos, 36
 Kerkyon, 37
 Kimon, 195n10, 195n22
 Kleisophos, 207n15
 Kleisthenes, 39
 Kleophon Painter, 194n31, 194n33, 203n1
 Klügmann Painter, workshop of, 5
 kneecaps, Codrus Painter's depiction of, 9
 Knigge, Ursula, 29
 Kolotes, 77
 Komos, 53, 205n14, 206n24; depicted on Divine Banquet cup, 43–46
 komos scenes, 69
 Kore, 81
 Koureotis, 208n25
 Kresilas, 75
 Krommyon, 37
 Kron, Uta, 32, 41, 42
 Krumeich, Ralph, 56
kyklosis, 59
 kylikes, type B, 22
 Kynchreus, 48
- “Lansdowne” marble relief, 32
 Lapiths and Centaurs, battle of, 73
 Laurens, Annie France, 44
 Le Balone, Tomb I, 68
 Leda, 48, 50, 215n58
 Lee, H. M., 63
 lekythoi, 5, 36, 79
 Lenaia festival, 54
 Leos, daughters of, 197n75
- Less or Country Dionysia, 54
 Leto, 46, 203n52
 Leukippides, 48
 Lewis, Sian, 55, 67
 Lewis Painter, 201n168
 Lezzi-Hafter, Adrienne, 5, 14, 16, 22, 26, 28, 29
 libation scenes, 13, 26, 44, 54, 194n2
 Libya, 48
 Lindenau-Museum, Altenburg, 57
linea alba, 12
 lineage, traced to myth, 32
 Lissarrague, François, 39, 44
 local heroes, 23, 35, 41, 46, 58, 76–79, 81; as witnesses to mythological events, 78. *See also* Athens, myth and tradition of
 location, of works by Codrus Painter, 5
 Lorenz, Thuri, 49
 loutrophoroi, 36
 Louvre Athletes cup (cat. 30, pl. 58), 5, 24, 26, 64, 193n19, 216n87; as kylix type E, 22
 Louvre Nike cup (cat. 23, pl. 32), 5, 21, 24, 62
 Lucian, *Anacharsis*, 63
 Lydians, and invention of games, 61
 Lykeas, 80
 Lykeion, 33
 Lykios, 63, 75
 Lykos, 33, 73, 195n8; depicted on Codrus cup, 31
- maenads, 52, 53, 54, 55, 70, 206n24; on Oxford chous, 17; on Tarquinia cup, 8
 Maggiani, Adriano, 62
 male figure, 58–59, 62, 73–74, 79, 206n24; depicted by Codrus Painter, 24, 28, 49. *See also* elderly men, Codrus Painter's depiction of
 Manner of Codrus Painter, 3, 5, 11, 25, 30, 67, 209n28; and palmette types, 14; stemless cups, 22
 Manner of Painter of Louvre 4539, 193n15, 209n12
 Manner of Peleus Painter, 209n37
 Manner of Tarquinia Painter, 209n17
 Manner of Washing Painter, 210n50
 Mantenios, 41
 Manto, 78
 Marathon bull, taming of, 37, 195n18
 Marinari, Valeria, 67
 Marlay Painter, 26, 66, 210n9
 Martin von Wagner Museum, Würzburg, 52
 Massa-Pairault, Françoise Hélène, 69
 mass tombs (Athens), 5
 meander motif, 14, 16
 Medea, 32, 37, 80, 195n18, 196n28, 196n29, 198n90; depicted on Codrus cup, 32–33, 195n16
medeousa, 32–33, 196n31
 Medon, 32
 Medontidai, 32
 Megara, 42
 Meidias Painter, 28, 34–35, 71, 194n22, 197n70, 204n18, 205n42; and Codrus Painter and Aison, 29–30
 Melanthios, 208n25
 Meleager, 40, 70, 212n58
 Meleager Painter, 53
 Melite, 33, 78, 81, 196n33; depicted on Codrus cup, 31–33
 Menelaos, 49
 Menestheus, 49, 195n10, 196n32; depicted on Codrus cup, 31–33
 Mesogeio, 73
 Methyse Painter, 207n18

Metzger, Henri, 35
 Migione, Eliana, 30
 Mikon, 40, 48, 51, 71, 204n20
 Minotaur, 36, 37, 38, 70, 199n108, 212n56
 mirrors, Etruscan, 45, 52
 modification, of sculptural prototypes, 74
 Moirai, 40
 Monte Lato, 69
 Montereppi cup (cat. 8, pl. 26), 23, 207n4; departure scene, 57
 monumental painting, influence of, 38, 40, 41, 51, 72, 83
 Morgan, Catherine, 67
 mosaic of Gnosis, Pella, 40
 motifs, recurrent, 13
 Mugione, E., 66
 Murray, Oswyn, 45
 musical contests, 210n40
 Myron, 38, 75
 mythological subjects, 23, 28, 47–51. *See also specific names*

Naples, as market, 66
 Naples cup (cat. 87, pl. 29), 26, 193n13, 193n34, 203n49; departure scene, 58
 National Museum of Athens, 80
 Nausicaa Painter, 200n146
 Neanias, 41, 75, 77, 78, 200n162
 Near Codrus Painter, 3, 25, 30, 51, 59, 75, 81, 210n42; cups (cat. 92, pl. 31; cat. 93, pl. 19; cat. 94, pl. 30; cat. 95, pl. 56), 26; drawing details, 10–12; fragments (cat. 96, pl. 70; cat. 97, pl. 71), 26; and palmette types, 14
 Near Polygnotos Group, 205n45
 Neils, Jenifer, 37, 64
 Nekyia, 58
 Neleids, 32, 195n24
 Neleion, 195n5
 Nemesis in Rhamnous (cult statue), 50, 76–78, 81, 215n58
 Neo-Attic reliefs, 74, 214n46
 Nephelē, 48
 New York cup (cat. 5, pl. 24), 4, 23, 24, 57
 Nike, 21, 68, 78, 209n12; and Athena, 212n52; honoring an athlete, 62, 193n15
 Nike Temple, 44, 79, 214n
 Nikias Painter, 34, 209n35
 Nikosthenes workshop, 66
 Niobid Painter, 192n31, 205n44, 207n11, 214n46
 Nola, 199n121
 Northern Renaissance art, 216n100
 Nubians, 56
 nude male torso, 21, 59; depicted by Codrus Painter, 9, 24, 28
 nudity of athletes, Etruscans and, 61, 70, 208n8
 Ny Carlsberg cup (cat. 64, pl. 59), 25, 64, 67
 Ny Carlsberg Glyptothek, 80, 81

Oedipus, 33
 Oinante Painter, 34
 Oinoe, 78, 215n58
 Oinokles Painter, 205n10
 Olmos, Ricardo, 65
 Oltos, 195n11
 Onasias, 200n159
 Orpheus Painter, 192n33
 Orphic beliefs, 78
 Orvieto, 211n29

Otos, 81
 Oxford chous (cat. 66, fig. 3.1), 4, 11, 25, 56, 206n31; as Manner of Codrus Painter, 17, 25; significance of shape, 22

Padano, 62
 paidagogos, 55–56
 Paidia, 53
 Painter between Aison and Codrus Painter, 22, 58, 63, 65, 193n13
 Painter of Bologna 417, 198n101
 Painter of Cambridge 72, 5, 11, 14, 25, 210n42; cups (cat. 99; cat. 100), 26; stemmed plates (cat. 101, pl. 77; cat. 102, pl. 74), 22, 26
 Painter of London E105, 58, 207n11
 Painter of London E106, 25, 27, 64
 Painter of London E113, 26, 192n11
 Painter of London E777, 192n32, 198n101
 Painter of Louvre G456, 56
 Painter of Munich 2413, 34
 Painter of Naples Hydriskai, 29, 193n4, 195n16
 Painter of Paris Gigantomachy, 210n42
 Painter that Recalls Codrus Painter, 205n50
 paintings, as prototypes for figure-types, 13
 Palagi (collector), 4
 Palagia, Olga, 76
 palaistra, Athenian, 61
 palaistra scenes, 13, 24, 25, 30, 62, 64, 65, 78, 209n18, 209n19; on Cambridge Athletes cup, 19; on Dresden cup, 18; Etruscan reception of, 70. *See also athletic scenes*
 Pallas, 33–34, 86
 palmettes, 26, 46, 198n87; depicted by Codrus Painter, 14–16; type I, 14; type II, 14–15; type III, 15; type IIIa, 15; type IIIb, 15; type IIIc, 15; type IV, 16; type IVa, 16; type IVb, 16; type V, 16
 Pan, 50
 Panaios, 72, 82
 Panaitios, 206n33
 Panathenaia, 61, 63, 64
 Pandora, 214n46; birth of, 50, 76
 Pandrosos, 33, 34
 Papaspyridi-Karouzou, Semni, 55
 paratactic figure arrangement, 4, 18, 26, 41, 46, 52, 62, 72, 76; on Astarita cup, 49–50; on ex-Charterhouse cup, 58–59
 Parrhasios, 81
 Parthenon, 73, 78, 80, 83, 213n8, 216n1; frieze, 29, 44, 45, 73, 79, 81, 202n38; influence on vase-painting, 71–72; metopes, 51, 73; pediments, 73
 Patras copy, 74
 Pausanias, 77; *Book 1*, 35, 38, 39, 40, 42, 48, 64, 76, 197n52, 200n162, 205n47; *Book 2*, 39, 195n24, 196n30, 198n104; *Book 5*, 39, 205n48, 206n33; *Book 8*, 48; *Book 10*, 201n170
 Peisistratids, 32
 Peisistratos, 64
 Peitho, 50, 53
 Peleus, 39–40, 70, 212n58
 Peleus Painter, 30, 83, 194n31, 205n53
 Pelias, 48
 Pellegrini, Giuseppe, 4
 Peloponnesian War, 33, 34, 35, 42, 43, 48, 49, 53, 54, 59, 63, 64, 80, 83
 Penelope Painter, 213n7
 pentathlon, 63, 209n18
 Pentesilea cup, 193n11
 Pentesilean workshop, 194n22
 Pentesilea Painter, 24, 37, 56, 204n25
 Pergamon Library, 76

- Periboia, 48
 Pericles, 35, 49, 83, 204n10; and construction of Parthenon, 73; and The-
 seus, 38
perideipnon, 211n37
 Perizoma group, 69
 Persephone, depicted on Divine Banquet cup, 43–46
 Persian Wars, 35, 46, 48, 49, 83
 personifications, 29, 53
 perspective, rules of, 59
 Pfuhl, Ernst, 4
 Phaia, 37
 Phaleron, 81
 Phiale Painter, 37, 192n16
 Phidian School, 71, 76, 81
 Phidian workshop, 29, 50, 82, 83, 196n27, 216n2
 Phidias, 71, 72, 73, 74, 76, 82, 84, 214n41, 214n44, 214n46, 216n1
 Philadelphiea Group, 194n22
 Philaids, 32
 Philochorus, 200n162
 Philomene, 80
 Philostratus, *Gymnasticus*, 209n18
 Philoxenos, 80
 Phorbas, 78, 195n17; depicted on Codrus cup, 31–33
 Phrixos, 48–49
 Phrixos cup (cat. 4, pl. 15), 23, 48, 81, 193n3, 194n10, 194n18, 207n6,
 215n59, 215n87; Etruscan reception of, 70; iconography of, 48–49; pal-
 mette decoration, 193n7 (ch. 4); sculptural influence of, 73
 Phylonoe, 34, 197n64
 Pindar: *Nemean* 7, 63; *Pythian* 8, 201n170
 Piraeus, 45, 81
 Piraeus reliefs, 74
 Pisa, as market, 62
 Pithos Painter, 210n2
 Pittheus, 196n34
 plague, 35, 77, 78
 Plaka, 199n115
 Plato, *Republic*, 203n45
 Pliny the Elder, 214n46; *Natural History*, 26, 76
 Plouton: as chthonic deity, 44; depicted on Divine Banquet cup, 43–46
 Plouton (name), 201n8
 Plutarch: *Banquet of Seven Sages* 1, 202n18; *Cimon*, 79; *Pericles*, 49; *The-
 seus*, 42, 204n26
 Poggio Civitate, 44, 45
 Polion, 194n31
polis ideal, 78–79
 Polygnotan workshop, 50–51
 Polygnotos, 40, 71, 205n53
 Polygnotos Group, 30, 53, 83, 194n31, 216n3. *See also* Near Polygnotos
 Group
 Polymele, 47
 Populonia cup (cat. 28, pl. 35), 62
 Poseidon, 202n19; depicted on Divine Banquet cup, 43–46; depicted on
 Triton cup, 47
 Poseidon, temple of, at Sounion, 38
 Pothos, 53, 86
 potters, Athenian, awareness of Etruscan preferences, 69
 Pratinas of Phlius, 54
 Pritchett, W. K., 59
 profiles, of human figures, 21; depicted by Circle of Codrus Painter, 11–
 12; depicted by Codrus Painter, 7–8
 Prokroustes, 37
 Prometheus, 50, 64
 Pronomos Painter's Circle, 197n56
 prophecies, of Themis, 40
 Propylaia, 15
 public artist, 84
 pupils of Codrus Painter, 26
 Pyllos, 34
 Pythagorean beliefs, 78
 Pythia, 39, 40
 pyxides, function of, 197n68

 rape: of Cassandra by Aias, 38, 49; of Kephalos by Eos, 21, 33–36, 34, 69
 reattributions, 25–27. *See also specific named works*
 Recalls Aison, 203n49
 reconstruction, of cult statue bases, 77
 Reichhold, K., 4
 relief decorations, 36; Codrus Painter and, 72; influence of, 51, 72–76
 Relief of the Gods (Brauron), 46
 relief sculptures, 49–50; Athens, 80; Eleusis, 80–81; Kythera, 81; Spata,
 81; Thespiai, 81
 relief urns, 38
 research history, on style of Codrus Painter, 3–5
 reuse, of figure-types, 13
 Reusser, Christoph, 67, 68, 69
 Rheitoi Bridge Decree, 215n65
 Rhodes, as findspot of vases, 28
 Richmond cup (cat. 69, pl. 54), 4, 5, 12, 19, 64, 209n28; as kylix type B,
 22; as Manner of Codrus Painter, 25
 Riezler, Walter, 71
 Roccos, L. J., 46
 Rosivach, Vincent, 35
 Royal Stoa, 38, 197n52

sacra conversazione motif, 4
 Salamis, 33, 41–42, 48, 80, 81, 201n167, 201n168
 sarcophagus (Cerveteri), 211n38
 satyr plays, 25, 50, 54–55, 206n22, 206n32, 207n53; origin of, 54
 satyrs, 24, 29, 50, 52, 53, 54, 65, 70, 206n24; depiction of ears, 8; depic-
 tion of hairstyles, 8; on Oxford chous, 17; robbing Herakles of his
 arms, 54–55
 scale, of figures, 53
 Schefold, Karl, 40, 41
 Schmidt, Margot, 5
 Scholiast on Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 196n35
 Scholiast on Euripides, *Medea*, 196n30
 Scholiast on Lycophron, 196n35
 Schwab, Katherine, 73
 sculpture: influence of, 45, 51, 71–82, 83–84; as prototypes for figure-
 types, 13, 38
 Seesaw cup (New York) (cat. 9, pl. 72), 5, 23, 65
 Selene, 73
 Servius Tullius, 212n52, 212n56
 Seven against Thebes, 41
 shapes: associated with Codrus Painter, 22; of export vases, 67
 Shapiro, Alan, 20, 35, 39, 50, 53
 shared artistic vocabulary, of sculptors and vase-painters, 77
 Shuvalov Painter, 194n18, 201n6, 203n51
 Sicily, as market, 69
sikinnis dance pose, 17, 55, 206n45
 silenic drama, 206n27
 Simon, Erika, 43–44, 81
 Simos, 53
 Sinis, 37

- Sisyphus Painter, 192n15
 Skiron, 37
 Smith, Cecil, 3–4
 social class, and use of Attic vases, 68
 Soloi colony, Cyprus, 204n26
 Sophocles: *Achilleos Erastes*, 56; *Antigone*, 201n8; *Herakleiskos*, 56; *Herakles epi Tainaroi*, 55
 Sotades Painter, 205n46
 Soteria, 34
 Sourvinou-Inwood, Christiane, 32, 33
 South Italian painters, 192n15
 South Italy, as market, 30, 66
 Spain, as market, 66
 specialization, in production of Athenian pottery, 30
 Spina, 47, 52, 54, 67, 70, 199n121, 204n12; as market, 66
 Spivey, Nigel, 67
 Splachnopt Painter, 214n50
 sport, in Athens and Etruria, 61
 statue groups, 216n1
 status symbol, Attic vases as, 68
 Steingraber, Stephan, 68
 stele: Berlin, 79; Delphi, 79; Eupheros, 79; Kerameikos, 79, 80; Megara, 80; Salamis, 80
 Stoa Poikile, 51, 72, 75
 Strangford shield, 74
 Stupperich, Reinhart, 79
 stylistic analysis, as tool for dating, 5
 stylistic and chronological arrangement, of work of Codrus Painter, 23–25
 Sub-Meidian Group, 27
 Suessula Painter, 58
 swinging rite (Aiora), 65
 Sydney cup (cat. 27), 5, 24
 symposium: depicted on Divine Banquet cup, 43–46; one-man, 202n35
 symposion vases, decorated with Theseus cycle, 37
 Syriskos Painter, 195n8
- Tages, 36
 Talos Painter, 34
 Tampa cup (cat. 11, pl. 18), 23, 193n9 (ch. 4), 203n5
 Tarquinia, 33, 52, 66, 67, 68, 211n34, 211n37
 Tarquinia cup (cat. 21, pl. 20), 4, 12, 24, 52, 193n14
 Tarquinia Painter, 205n44, 214n46
 teacher-pupil relationship, 29, 72, 194n22, 198n100
 Telamon, 31, 41, 48, 201n164, 207n2
 temple decoration, influence of, 72–76
 Teneros, 200n163
 Themis, 24, 37, 70, 81, 199n132, 215n58; depicted on Themis cup, 39–40
 Themis cup (cat. 17, pl. 8), 3, 4, 5, 12, 24, 78, 80, 81, 193n5, 193n7 (ch. 4), 198n104, 210n4; Etruscan reception of, 70; iconography of, 39–40; palmette type III, 15; sculptural influence on, 73, 74, 75, 77
theoxenia, 43–44, 49
 Thersandros, 41, 200n162
 Theseia, 59, 64
 Theseion, 51
 Theseus, 34, 47, 55, 56, 58, 75, 81, 207n17; Attic-Thessalian origin, 196n34; birth of, 77; depicted on Basel cup, 40–42; depicted on Codrus cup, 31–33; and Erechtheus, 35; Etruscan view of, 70; and Menestheus, 195n10; as model for Athenian youth, 208n32; and Poseidon, 195n19, 195n25; statues of, 38; as symbol of Athens, 39
 Theseus cycle, 36–39, 193n7 (ch. 5), 212n56
 Theseus cycle cup (cat. 16, pl. 5) (Bassegio cup), 3, 4, 5, 213n29, 213n35; discovery of, 79; Etruscan reception of, 70; iconography of, 23–24, 36–39; as kylix type B, 22; palmette type II, 15; sculptural influence on, 73; tondo band on, 16
 Thespian Polyandron, 5
 thiasoi, representations of, 52–53
 Thönges-Stringaris, Rhea, 45
 three-figure pattern, 45, 58
 Thucydides, 32, 208n26
 Timandra, 50
 Timandra fragments (cat. 10B, fig. 3.6), 20, 50; attributed to Codrus Painter, 20
 Todi cup (cat. 57, pl. 52), 63, 193n24
 tomb (Spina, Valle Trebba), 6
 Tomb 3098, 211n34
 Tomba Cardarelli, 208n8
 Tomb of Ciaia, 211n37
 Tomb of Hunting and Fishing, 201n4, 211n38
 Tomb of Orcus, 212n55
 Tomb of Orcus II, 211n34
 Tomb of the Augurs, 208n8, 211n20
 Tomb of the Elder, 211n34
 Tomb of the Funerary Bed, 211n37
 Tomb of the Kerkyreans (Kerameikos), 5
 Tomb of the Monkey, 65
 Tomb of the Olympic Games, 211n20
 Tomb of the Painted Vases, 211n34
 Tomb of the Panathenaic Games, 65
 Tomb of the Ship, 68
 Tomb of the Triclinium, 68, 211n34
 Tomb of Vases and Bronzes, 6
 tondo bands, 16, 25, 192n11 (ch. 2); on Amazonomachy cup, 51; on Apodyterion cup, 62; on Basel cup, 40, 52; on Brauron cup, 46; on Cambridge cup, 55; on Chapel Hill cup, 64; on Dionysos cup, 52; on Divine Banquet cup, 43; on Erichthonios cup, 34; on ex-Charterhouse cup, 59; on Herakles cup, 54, 55, 56; on Monterege cup, 57; on Naples cup, 58; on Phrixos cup, 48–49; on Seesaw cup, 65; on Themis cup, 39–40; on Triton cup, 47; on Zurich cup, 58
 torch races, 64
 “Totenmahl” reliefs, 43, 45, 80, 202n23
 tragedy, and satyr plays, 54
tragoedia paizousa/paidia, 206n22
 Triptolemos, 81
 Triton and Poseidon, 24, 70; depicted on Triton cup, 47
 Triton cup (cat. 18, pl. 14), 4, 6, 12, 23, 25, 207n2, 215n59; Etruscan reception of, 70; iconography of, 47–48; and monumental painting, 83; palmette type IIIb, 15; sculptural influence on, 73
 Troezen, 39
 Troilos Painter, 44, 201n15
 Trojan War, 31–33, 49
 Trophy base, 78
 Troy, sack of, 73
 Tübingen cup (cat. 6, pl. 25), 23, 24, 57
 Turin, Gabinetto del Palagi, 4
 Tyndareos, 48, 73
 Tyrannicides, 38
 Tyrrhenian amphoras, 66–70
- Underworld, heroic gathering in, 58
 unidentified figures, in heroic warrior scenes, 31
- Vanth (Nike), 68
 Veii Painter, 192n32
 Villa Giulia cup (cat. 46, pl. 49), 25, 63, 193n21
 Villa Giulia Painter, 54–55, 207n18

- Volterra, as market, 62
 volutes, depicted by Codrus Painter, 14–16
 votive reliefs, 80–81; Aigina, 81; Sosippos, Louvre, 81
 Vulci, 4, 26, 31, 36, 38, 43, 44, 65, 67; as market, 66
- waiting, as motif of Themis cup, 39
 wall painting: in Etruscan tombs, 68; influence of, 45
 war heroes, 79
 warriors, 82
 wedding scenes, 29
 wedding themes, 28
 Wehgartner, Irma, 29
 weighing of the souls (*psychostasia*), 65
 wine, in funerary banquet, 67–68
 wing-sleeves motif, 52
 women: depicted by Codrus Painter, 8, 10, 31–32, 46, 48, 49, 57, 58, 65,
 74, 82; Etruscan, 208n8; in Etruscan banquet scenes, 68; as subject for
 Eretria Painter, 28
 workshop of Eretria Painter, 29
 wrestlers, depiction of, 25; on Cape Town cup, 18
 wrestling, 61, 63, 198n89
- Xenokles, 207n15
 Xenon cup (cat. 37, pl. 47), 3, 20, 25, 63
 Xenophon, *Symposion*, 63
- Zapheiroupolou-Mitropoulou, Maria, 34
 Zeus, 34, 35, 38, 39, 48, 50, 51, 61, 72, 76–77, 203n52; depicted on Divine
 Banquet cup, 43–46
 Zeus in Olympia (cult statue), 50, 51, 72, 76, 77
 Zurich cup (cat. 31, pl. 28), 5, 16, 193n19, 193n28, 209n25; departure
 scene, 58

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